1993

Sex differences in perceptions of dangerous sexual behaviours: The case of acquaintance rape.

Jodee M. McCaw
University of Windsor

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

SEX DIFFERENCES IN PERCEPTIONS OF DANGEROUS SEXUAL BEHAVIOURS: THE CASE OF ACQUAINTANCE RAPE

by

Jodee M. McCaw

B.Sc. McGill University, 1986

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Department of Psychology
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts at the
University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1993

ISBN 0-315-87365-5

Canada

Name _____

Dissertation Abstracts International is arranged by broad, general subject categories. Please select the one subject which most nearly describes the content of your dissertation. Enter the corresponding four-digit code in the spaces provided.

SUBJECT TERM

SUBJECT CODE

U·M·I

Subject Categories

THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COMMUNICATIONS AND THE ARTS

Architecture 0729
Art History 0377
Cinema 0900
Dance 0378
Fine Arts 0357
Information Science 0723
Journalism 0391
Library Science 0399
Mass Communications 0708
Music 0413
Speech Communication 0459
Theater 0465

EDUCATION

General 0515
Administration 0514
Adult and Continuing 0516
Agricultural 0517
Art 0273
Bilingual and Multicultural 0282
Business 0688
Community College 0275
Curriculum and Instruction 0727
Early Childhood 0518
Elementary 0524
Finance 0277
Guidance and Counseling 0519
Health 0680
Higher 0745
History of 0520
Home Economics 0278
Industrial 0521
Language and Literature 0279
Mathematics 0280
Music 0522
Philosophy of 0998
Physical 0523
Psychology 0525
Reading 0535
Religious 0527
Sciences 0714
Secondary 0533
Social Sciences 0534
Sociology of 0340
Special 0529
Teacher Training 0530
Technology 0710
Tests and Measurements 0288
Vocational 0747

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND LINGUISTICS

Language
- General 0679
- Ancient 0289
- Linguistics 0290
- Modern 0291

Literature
- General 0401
- Classical 0294
- Comparative 0295
- Medieval 0297
- Modern 0298
- African 0316
- American 0591
- Asian 0305
- Canadian (English) 0352
- Canadian (French) 0355
- English 0593
- Germanic 0311
- Latin American 0312
- Middle Eastern 0315
- Romance 0313
- Slavic and East European 0314

PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION AND THEOLOGY

Philosophy 0422
Religion
- General 0318
- Biblical Studies 0321
- Clergy 0319
- History of 0320
- Philosophy of 0322

Theology 0469

SOCIAL SCIENCES

American Studies 0323
Anthropology
- Archaeology 0324
- Cultural 0326
- Physical 0327

Business Administration
- General 0310
- Accounting 0272
- Banking 0770
- Management 0454
- Marketing 0338

Canadian Studies 0385
Economics
- General 0501
- Agricultural 0503
- Commerce-Business 0505
- Finance 0508
- History 0509
- Labor 0510
- Theory 0511

Folklore 0358
Geography 0366
Gerontology 0351
History
- General 0578
- Ancient 0579
- Medieval 0581
- Modern 0582
- Black 0328
- African 0331
- Asia, Australia and Oceania 0332
- Canadian 0334
- European 0335
- Latin American 0336
- Middle Eastern 0333
- United States 0337

History of Science 0585
Law 0398
Political Science
- General 0615
- International Law and Relations 0616
- Public Administration 0617

Recreation 0814
Social Work 0452
Sociology
- General 0626
- Criminology and Penology 0627
- Demography 0938
- Ethnic and Racial Studies 0631
- Individual and Family Studies 0628
- Industrial and Labor Relations 0629
- Public and Social Welfare 0630
- Social Structure and Development 0700
- Theory and Methods 0344

Transportation 0709
Urban and Regional Planning 0999
Women's Studies 0453

THE SCIENCES AND ENGINEERING

BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES

Agriculture
- General 0473
- Agronomy 0285
- Animal Culture and Nutrition 0475
- Animal Pathology 0476
- Food Science and Technology 0359
- Forestry and Wildlife 0478
- Plant Culture 0479
- Plant Pathology 0480
- Plant Physiology 0817
- Range Management 0777
- Wood Technology 0746

Biology
- General 0306
- Anatomy 0287
- Biostatistics 0308
- Botany 0309
- Cell 0379
- Ecology 0329
- Entomology 0353
- Genetics 0369
- Limnology 0793
- Microbiology 0410
- Molecular 0307
- Neuroscience 0317
- Oceanography 0416
- Physiology 0433
- Radiation 0821
- Veterinary Science 0778
- Zoology 0472

Biophysics
- General 0786
- Medical 0760

EARTH SCIENCES

Biogeochemistry 0425
Geochemistry 0996
Geodesy 0370
Geology 0372
Geophysics 0373
Hydrology 0388
Mineralogy 0411
Paleobotany 0345
Paleoecology 0426
Paleontology 0418
Paleozoology 0985
Palynology 0427
Physical Geography 0368
Physical Oceanography 0415

HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES

Environmental Sciences 0768
Health Sciences
- General 0566
- Audiology 0300
- Chemotherapy 0992
- Dentistry 0567
- Education 0350
- Hospital Management 0769
- Human Development 0758
- Immunology 0982
- Medicine and Surgery 0564
- Mental Health 0347
- Nursing 0569
- Nutrition 0570
- Obstetrics and Gynecology 0380
- Occupational Health and Therapy 0354
- Ophthalmology 0381
- Pathology 0571
- Pharmacology 0419
- Pharmacy 0572
- Physical Therapy 0382
- Public Health 0573
- Radiology 0574
- Recreation 0575
- Speech Pathology 0460
- Toxicology 0383

Home Economics 0386

PHYSICAL SCIENCES

Pure Sciences

Chemistry
- General 0485
- Agricultural 0749
- Analytical 0486
- Biochemistry 0487
- Inorganic 0488
- Nuclear 0738
- Organic 0490
- Pharmaceutical 0491
- Physical 0494
- Polymer 0495
- Radiation 0754

Mathematics 0405
Physics
- General 0605
- Acoustics 0986
- Astronomy and Astrophysics 0606
- Atmospheric Science 0608
- Atomic 0748
- Electronics and Electricity 0607
- Elementary Particles and High Energy 0798
- Fluid and Plasma 0759
- Molecular 0609
- Nuclear 0610
- Optics 0752
- Radiation 0756
- Solid State 0611

Statistics 0463

Applied Sciences

Applied Mechanics 0346
Computer Science 0984

Engineering
- General 0537
- Aerospace 0538
- Agricultural 0539
- Automotive 0540
- Biomedical 0541
- Chemical 0542
- Civil 0543
- Electronics and Electrical 0544
- Heat and Thermodynamics 0348
- Hydraulic 0545
- Industrial 0546
- Marine 0547
- Materials Science 0794
- Mechanical 0548
- Metallurgy 0743
- Mining 0551
- Nuclear 0552
- Packaging 0549
- Petroleum 0765
- Sanitary and Municipal 0554
- System Science 0790

Geotechnology 0428
Operations Research 0796
Plastics Technology 0795
Textile Technology 0994

PSYCHOLOGY

General 0621
Behavioral 0384
Clinical 0622
Developmental 0620
Experimental 0623
Industrial 0624
Personality 0625
Physiological 0989
Psychobiology 0349
Psychometrics 0632
Social 0451

APPROVED BY:

Chair

ABSTRACT

Research in the area of coercive heterosexual sex has assumed that the shocking frequency of men's sexual coercion of women is due in part to misunderstandings and miscommunication between women and men, so that a woman may experience as coercive a sexual interaction which the man believes to be consensual. The present study was designed to investigate sex differences in perceptions of and communication during sexual encounters. Forty university undergraduates, 20 women and 20 men, were asked about their own experiences with coercive sex and then wrote stories based on an outline in which a woman and a man who were on a date experienced conflict over sexual activity (one person made a sexual advance, the other refused it, eventually sexual intercourse occurred; one story was written in which the unwanted advance was made by the man, another in which it was made by the woman). The participants' responses provided strong evidence that heterosexual coercion is rarely if ever a result of misunderstanding or miscommunication. Women and men demonstrated that they viewed sex in different ways, but they also understood how their date, as a member of the other sex, viewed it. Women and men communicated in very similar ways about sex, used similar behavioural cues, and the inferences that they made based on their date's behaviours were accurate. Thus, it is argued to be necessary that we begin to research intentionally coercive sex. A number of lines of argument based on the data of the present study do support the thesis that most coercive sex is intentional on the part of the man.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Numerous thanks are due to my friends, particularly Jenn, for tolerating my increased tendency to disappear into my own thoughts during the year that I worked on this project. Their willingness to discuss my work and their comments contributed significantly to the final product.

I am also grateful to my advisor Charlene Senn, who must have been sent by the goddess to me, and to the Department of Psychology at the University of Windsor. Charlene both challenged me and assisted me in meeting those challenges. Had she not existed, I would have had to invent her.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ABSTRACT ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iii

LIST OF TABLES vii

Chapter

I INTRODUCTION 1
Sexual Assault as Heterosexual Sexual Assault 3
Differences Between Canada and the United States 4
The Prevalence of Sexual Coercion 6
The Harm Done to Women by Coercive Sex 16
Gender Differences in Reported Experiences of Coerced Sex 22
Men's Misperception of Women's Sexual Intent 28
Sexual intent inferred from the circumstances of a date 29
Women's reluctance to be open about their (lack of) sexual interest 30
Men's discounting of a woman's expression of her lack of sexual interest 32
The relationship between the victim's perceived interest in sex and a man's coercive sexual behaviour 36
Misperception as a Result of Focus on Own Behaviour 39
Sexual Scripts and Coerced Sex 39
Men as Victims of Coercive Sex 42

II THE PRESENT STUDY 46
Rationale 46
Methodological Limitations of Earlier Studies 48
Alternative Methodologies 51
Description of the Present Study 54
Hypotheses 59

III METHOD 61
Participants 61
Materials 61
Background questionnaire 61
The Sexual Experiences Survey 61
Essay questions 63
Procedure 66
Data Analysis 68

IV RESULTS 70
Background and Demographic Information 71
Participants' Experiences with Sexual Coercion 72
Women 72
Men 75
Comparing participants' responses with previous research 77
The Influence of the Heterosocial Context on Coercive Sex 78
Men's Misperception of Women's Sexual Intent 91
Sexual intent inferred from circumstances of a date 92
Women's reluctance to say no 92
Men's refusal to believe no 93
Misperception as a Result of Focus on own Behaviour 94
Specific Behavioural Cues: Sexual Interest and Sexual Nonconsent 95
Specific Behavioural Cues: Coercion 98
Sex Differences in Conflict 102
Sex Differences in Initiator/Responder Comparisons 104
The Impact of Sexual Victimization 105
The Typical Date Rape 108

V DISCUSSION 111
The Representativeness of the Sample 111
The Relationship of Participants' Stories to their Real-Life Experiences 113
Demand characteristics 114
Participants' experience with sexual coercion 116
Men's underreporting of sexually coercive behaviour 116
Other influences on participants' stories 118
Influence of fantasy on participants' stories 119
Minimizing coercive experiences 120
The Inadvertency Hypotheses 124
Men's Overestimation of Women's Interest in Sex 124
Sex Differences in Use of Behavioural Cues 127
Evidence of Intent 130
Sex Differences in the Heterosexual Sexual Experience 133
What May Be Concluded About Men's Behaviour in Sexual Encounters? 140
Should the Inadvertency Hypotheses be Discarded? 146
Strengths and Limitations of the Present Study 158
Directions for Future Research 160

ENDNOTES 163

Appendix

A RECRUITMENT ANNOUNCEMENT 167

B CONSENT FORM 168

C BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE 170

D SEXUAL EXPERIENCES SURVEY 172

E DEBRIEFING SUMMARY 182

F EXEMPLARS OF COERCIVE BEHAVIOURS 183

REFERENCES 186

VITA AUCTORIS 198

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Women's Responses to the Sexual Experiences Survey	73
2	Men's Responses to the Sexual Experiences Survey	76
3	Coercive Behaviours Used in the Participants' Question 1 Stories	100
4	Relationship between Sexual Victimization and Q 1 Story Outcome	107

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the past twenty years, the sexual assault of women by men has increasingly been recognized as a serious social problem. With a few exceptions, social scientists largely ignored rape and other forms of sexual assault until the early 1980s (Craig, 1990). With the advent of the current wave of the feminist movement, feminists began to address rape as a serious issue.[1] Feminist writing about rape began appearing at the beginning of the 1970s (Griffin, 1971; Medea & Thompson, 1974; Brownmiller, 1975). Later feminist writers argued that rape was more appropriately considered as one form of sexual assault. Just as feminists were questioning the traditional equation of heterosexual vaginal intercourse with sex, they also recognized that men engaged in exploitive and assaultive sexual behaviours other than rape. Moreover, they argued that to reconceptualize rape as sexual assault emphasized the violent and assaultive nature of the act, which had long been seen by both the legal system and most people as sexual rather than violent. Other feminists, many of whom were social scientists, began to investigate what they called "coercive sex" or "sexual victimization," sexual acts that are not desired by the woman and hence occur without her genuine consent, but which were arguably not the result of the use of or threat of force by the man. A continuum of heterosexual sexual experiences, ranging from fully mutually consensual to rape, was thus postulated. A particular sexual interaction could

then be located along this continuum through the persuasion applied by the man and the amount of "choice" perceived by the woman.

The result of this work was an increasing concern about both the prevalence of sexual violence and its consequences. As more research was done, it became unarguable that the prevalence of sexual violence was, and continues to be, alarmingly high. There has been extensive debate about the extent to which the increase in reported prevalence was solely a reflection of better research and more victims reporting sexual assaults to the police. Some evidence has suggested that the rate of sexual assault, as well as the rate of reporting, has been increasing. The importance of studying sexual violence was also heightened by numerous findings that all forms of sexual coercion may result in serious consequences for the victim. It has thus become imperative to study sexual coercion with a view toward discovering effective interventions for decreasing both the prevalence of victimization and its negative effects.

Much of the work that has been done on coerced sex between men and women has focused on the frequency of its occurrence and, to a lesser extent, its sequelae through studies of women who have been victimized and men who have perpetrated sexual victimization. Through the use of these two distinct subject groups, two rather different pictures of coerced sex have emerged. The most obvious difference is in the frequency of coerced sex found when women or men are sampled. Although it has been argued that it is necessary, and a major methodological challenge, to find a methodology which would result in men admitting to coercing women into sex as frequently as women acknowledge being victimized (Sandberg, Jackson & Petretic-Jackson, 1987; Koss & Gidycz, 1985), it is

likely that some sexual interactions may be honestly seen as coerced from the woman's point of view and consensual from the man's. It is the purpose of the present study to investigate the extent to which these two views of coerced sex, women's and men's, differ because of various gender-related misperceptions.

Sexual Assault as Heterosexual Sexual Assault

Within mainstream society and mainstream social science, sexuality continues to be defined as heterosexuality, despite more than 20 years of the lesbian and gay liberation movements and more than a decade of scholarly writing recognizing the existence of lesbians and gay men (Rich, 1980). Thus, sexual assault is defined as heterosexual sexual assault. In part, this results from the refusal to recognize the existence of lesbians and gay men. Studies about dating simply assume that a date necessarily involves a woman and a man. (As does a study published in 1992 in a monograph on feminist psychology [Hull et al., 1992]!) Researchers in this area appear not to have considered the confounds that may be introduced into their data by the possibility that some of their subjects may be lesbian, gay, or bisexual.

The assumption that sexual assault is necessarily heterosexual also appears to result from a number of gender-related stereotypes about sex. Thus, the idea that women are not sexually aggressive interferes with recognition of the possibility that a women would aggress sexually against either a man or a woman; the strength of the stereotype is such that even when a formal recognition of the possibility has been made, it is seen as extremely unlikely. Similarly, the stereotype that a man will be glad of whatever sex he can obtain interferes with the recognition that a heterosexual man can be a victim of sexual coercion by a

woman or a man a victim of another man. Ironically, similar analyses have been proposed by a number of writers to account for the assumption that women do not aggress sexually against men (Struckman-Johnson, 1991; Masters, 1986). These researchers argue that women do sexually assault men and that this is an important area of research. However, they do not take the argument to its logical conclusion and also consider same-sex sexual assault, but instead continue to focus on heterosexual sexual assault.

I have chosen to investigate heterosexual sexual coercion of women by men in this study. As I demonstrate below, there remain important outstanding theoretical questions within this area. Moreover, the fact that sexual coercion can be perpetrated by women against women, by women against men, and by men against men does not negate the large number of men who sexually coerce women, the trauma suffered by these women, nor the importance of finding a solution to this particular type of sexual coercion.

I further discuss the limited data available on the sexual coercion of men by women below (pp. 44-46). In what follows, by sexual assault or sexual coercion, I mean sexual assault or sexual coercion of a woman by a man except where I have explicitly stated otherwise, by dating, I mean heterosexual dating, and so on.

Differences Between Canada and the United States

Research into and discussion of sexual violence that has been done in Canada has generally quoted American studies without suggesting that conditions may be somewhat different in Canada. An extreme example of this tendency is seen in an article on sexual violence by Cherry (1983), who is at Carleton University. She

used figures on sexual assault collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and did so without describing them as American (beyond the FBI reference), although equivalent Canadian figures would have been easily available to her. In fact, Clark and Lewis (1977), who completed the first Canadian study of rape, note that police statistics were the only source of information about rape that was available to them.

Canadians have often taken comfort in our significantly lower levels of violent crimes as compared with the U.S. In the case of sexual assault, however, this comfort is likely to be misleading. As has been argued above and elsewhere, most sexual assault is not "violent" in the usual sense – in both Canada and the United States, sexual assault is most often perpetrated by acquaintances, seldom involves a weapon, and may not be recognized as a crime at all (e.g., Medea and Thompson, 1974; Koss, 1988; Yurchesyn, Keith, & Renner, 1992). Thus, the greater level of overt violence in the United States does not necessarily imply a significant discrepancy in the actual rates of sexual assault in the two countries. Canadian studies by Clark and Lewis (1977), Brickman and Briere (1984), Renner and his colleagues (Renner, Wackett, & Ganderton, 1988; Yurchesyn et al., 1992) and DeKeseredy and Kelly (1993) provide evidence that sexual assault is a significant problem for Canadian as well as American women. Because sexual coercion is even less explicitly violent than sexual assault, there is even less reason to believe that the experiences of sexual coercion that Canadian and American women undergo differ significantly.[2]

Thus, although I will use Canadian studies where possible, I will also make use of American research. The available data do suggest that there is considerable

similarity between Canadian and American women's experiences of sexual coercion and hence in Canadian and American men's experiences of perpetuating sexual coercion.

The Prevalence of Sexual Coercion

At least two early investigations in the social scientific literature drew some attention to the frequency of sexual coercion on U.S. college campuses. In a 1957 study, Kanin found that 62.2% of 262 first year U.S. college women reported experiencing "offensive and displeasing" sexual contact during their last year of high school or the summer before college (p. 197). Of these women, 20.9% reported having experienced a forceful attempt at intercourse and 8.6% a forceful attempt at intercourse involving physical violence or a threat of physical violence. (The number of subjects who were raped is unknown. In an offensively facetious comment, Kanin [1957] notes that "no inquiry was made into the degree of success attained by these forceful endeavours" [p. 197].) In a similar study of 291 U.S. college women, Kirkpatrick and Kanin (1957) found that 55.7% reported experiencing offensive sexual contact during the previous academic year. Given the 1950s taboo against open discussion of any sexual matters, these surveys may have underestimated the actual frequency of sexual coercion, especially because the belief that women were to blame for sexual activity, even if forced, had not yet been seriously challenged. Kirkpatrick and Kanin (1957) and Kanin (1957) both blame some of the "offended girls" for the man's sexually coercive behaviour, for example, suggesting that one contributing factor is the woman's "ambivalent resistance" (Kirkpatrick & Kanin, 1957, p. 58).

Despite the disturbing nature of Kanin's findings, it appears that little attention was paid to this work; both psychological and sociological studies of rape continued to be infrequent until the early 1980s (Craig, 1990). Jackson (1978) asserts that

> [t]he academic community has remained strangely silent about rape. Criminologists, psychologists and sociologists have ignored it or accorded it only cursory recognition of a kind which tend [sic] to reinforce rather than challenge the myths, basing their analyses on the folk-knowledge they share with the layman. (p. 27)

In the 1974 Handbook of Criminology, a 40-page chapter on "sexual conduct and crime" devoted a section of less than four pages to the topic of rape (Gagnon, 1974). Moreover, only four references were cited in this section, one of which was a criminal victimization survey.

The first feminist works on rape (Griffin, 1971; Medea & Thompson, 1974; Brownmiller, 1975) were largely theoretical, with their data being drawn from earlier, non-feminist studies. These writers argued that contrary to the stereotype of the rapist as an abnormal, often psychopathic man, men who raped were indistinguishable from "normal" men. Griffin (1971) combined FBI data on violent crimes with the FBI's own estimation of the frequency with which rapes are reported to conclude that "forcible rape is the most frequently committed violent crime in America today" (p. 4, emphasis in original). Citing evidence that men who rape "are not abnormal" (Griffin, 1971, p. 5), Griffin called rape "the all-American crime." Brownmiller (1975) offered what she called a woman's definition of rape: "if a woman chooses not to have intercourse with a specific man and the man

chooses to proceed against her will, that is a criminal act of rape" (p. 8). She then contrasted this with the extremely restricted definition of rape that has been used both legally and by society as a whole, which requires that the woman demonstrate nonconsent through substantial visible resistance,[3] that the man use physical force, threat of physical force, or a weapon, and that has most often exempted forced sex inflicted by husbands and lovers from criminal sanctions. Even using the restricted legal definition of rape, Brownmiller (1975) convincingly demonstrated the normativity of rape, through its frequency, its universality, and the numerous ways that societies actually encourage the commission of rape (not least of which is the extremely small number of rapes that are defined as crimes and result in punishment of the rapist). Medea and Thompson (1974) explained the contradictions inherent in any discussion of rape by arguing that "rape is simply at the end of the continuum of male-aggressive, female-passive patterns, and an arbitrary line has been drawn to mark it off from the rest of such relationships" (p. 11). Thus, they argued, it is the artificiality of the location of that dividing line that makes rape such a confusing issue. These writers challenged the standard perception of rape, which is codified in its legal definition.

Later feminist researchers continued to theorize about rape and also investigated the prevalence of rape by conducting their own studies. Their findings provided substantial support for the feminist contention that rape and other forms of sexual assault occur with distressing frequency in the lives of women. In the summer of 1978, Russell (1984) surveyed a random sample of 930 women living in San Francisco. Using extensive interviews, she found that 19% of her subjects had experienced one or more completed rapes and 31% had experienced at least one

attempted rape. In total, 41% of her subjects had experienced at least one completed or attempted rape according to the legal definition of rape in force at the time (i.e., vaginal intercourse obtained through the man's use of force or threat of force against a woman not his wife or when the woman is totally helpless and hence unable to consent). Russell (1984) also asked her subjects about sexual experiences that would have been legally defined as rape were the perpetrator not the subject's husband. When husbands were included amongst perpetrators, 44% of Russell's subjects had experienced at least one completed or attempted rape. MacKinnon (1987) asked Russell to reanalyse her data to derive the prevalence of sexual assault among her sample. Defining sexual assault broadly as unwanted sexual interactions, from forced sex to obscene phone calls and being subjected to flashers, 93% of the women had been sexually assaulted or harassed (MacKinnon, 1987).

Russell's (1984) study also provides evidence that the rate of rape has increased significantly. When Russell (1984) grouped her subjects into age cohorts, she found that the younger the cohort, the higher the prevalence of rape reported by that cohort. The one exception was the youngest cohort -- women between 18 and 29 reported a prevalence rate of 53.2%, while women between 30 and 39 reported a prevalence rate of 58.7%. Because these are lifetime prevalence rates, they provide powerful evidence that the rape rate is rising. Russell (1984) considers and rejects the possibility that younger women's apparently more frequent experience of rape may just be a greater willingness to report it. She argues that the data that her subjects provided on being sexually abused as children showed no such trend, although child sexual abuse is a similarly taboo

subject.

In Brickman and Briere's (1984) study, a representative sample of 551 women living in Winnipeg were interviewed. Twenty-one percent of respondents reported that they had been sexually assaulted and six percent had been raped. Half of these women had experienced their first sexual assault before the age of 17. The researchers point out that it is likely that these prevalence figures are an underestimation -- the interviewers reported that many women approached for participation became agitated when learning of the nature of the questionnaire and refused to participate, although an exact count was not made.

The studies by Russell (1984) and Brickman and Briere (1984) are particularly strong because they are based on large random or representative samples of the female population. Other researchers have used very large sample sizes rather than random samples. Koss and her colleagues (Koss & Oros, 1982; Koss & Gidycz, 1985; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987) did a number of studies of the experiences of U.S. college students with rape and coercive sex. In the best of these studies (Koss et al., 1987), 6,159 students, 3,182 women and 2,972 men from colleges across the continental United States, were surveyed about their experiences with unwanted sex since the age of 14. Of the women, 15.4% reported at least one experience that met the legal definition of rape and an additional 12.1% of the women reported experiences that met the legal definition of attempted rape. Of the men, 4.4% admitted that they had had intercourse that was against the woman's will through the use of force, while an additional 3.3% of the men reported perpetrating acts that met the legal definition of attempted rape (Koss et al., 1987).

In a similar Canadian study, DeKeseredy and Kelly (1993) used Koss's Sexual Experiences Survey (Koss et al., 1987) to investigate the incidence and prevalence of coercive sex among Canadian university and college students. The researchers administered the survey to 3,142 students, 1,835 women and 1,307 men, at randomly chosen postsecondary institutions across Canada. Of the women surveyed, 6.6% said that they had sexual intercourse because of a man's use of or threat of physical force since high school. Of the men, 1.5% reported that since high school they had obtained sexual intercourse with a woman through the use of or threat of physical force. Within the last year, 2% of the women reported having been forced into sex and .7% of the men reported having forced a woman into sex.

Although rape is legally defined as sexual intercourse that occurs against the woman's will and without her consent through the man's use of force or threat of force, many people, including some victims and many perpetrators of rape, seem to use a much more narrow definition of rape (Estrich, 1987) -- for example, denying that it is rape when a man forces sex upon a woman who is a friend or lover. Koss, Gidycz, and Wisniewski's (1987) results highlight this discrepancy. Among their subjects who had reported being the victim or the perpetrator of an occurrence of sexual intercourse that was against the woman's will and without her consent through the use of or threat of force, only 27% of the women said that they had been a victim of rape, while 88% of the men said that what they had done was definitely not rape (Koss, 1988). Thus, Koss (1985, 1988) emphasizes that studies of rape must reflect the experiences of "hidden" rape victims, "a woman who has experienced a sexual assault that would legally qualify as rape but who does not conceptualize herself as a rape victim" (Koss, 1985, p. 195).

Many researchers studying coerced sex have argued that the sexual experiences of women cannot be dichotomized into encounters which can easily be labelled rape and those which are obviously consensual. Women report that they have sex which is against their will for many reasons other than the use of or threat of force on the part of their partners. Koss and Oros (1982) surveyed 2,016 women whether they had had sex that they did not want for a number of reasons. The researchers found that a woman may be verbally coerced, or pressured, through a man's persistent arguing (21.4% of the subjects); a woman may be persuaded to have sex by a man's saying things that he does not mean (20.4%); or a woman may report that she "felt it was useless to [try to] stop the man" (32.8% -- note that some of the women surveyed reported encountering more than one of these coercive tactics; Koss & Oros, 1982, p. 456).

Some researchers make a clear statement that they choose to use the terms "sexual coercion" or "sexual victimization" because although the women were pressured into having sex they did not want, what happened would not be legally defined as rape (Koss et al., 1987; Muehlenhard & Schrag, 1991). Other researchers appear to use a restricted definition of rape themselves. For example, Lewin (1985) studied what she labelled "unwanted intercourse." In the introduction to her article, she wrote:

> A sexual relationship may be eagerly desired by both partners, or at the opposite extreme, forcibly inflicted by one person upon another. In between these two poles lies a curiously neglected relationship in which psychological pressure is applied by an eager lover to induce a reluctant partner to acquiesce to unwanted intercourse against her (or his) will.

> Unwanted intercourse is not rape, but neither is it desired by one partner. (p. 185)

I would argue that Lewin's "psychological pressure" is inadequate as a label to describe the reality of women's experiences of coercive sex (e.g., compare Koss and Oros's (1982) subjects, many of whom reported experiencing unwanted sex because of "continual arguments and pressure" or they "felt there was no point to [try to] stop him" (p. 456)). Moreover, Lewin's (1985) implication that "psychological pressure" is not, and presumably can never be, force seems to me to be a refusal to acknowledge how "psychological pressure" may in fact be experienced as a threat of physical violence by the woman to whom it is applied.

Of the many studies investigating the frequency of coercive sex amongst U.S. college students, the studies of Koss and her colleagues are notable for their large and well-chosen samples. Koss and Oros (1982) found that almost one-third of the 2,016 female college students that they surveyed reported that they had had intercourse which they did not want because they "felt it useless to [try to] stop the offender" (p. 456). Koss, Gidycz, and Wisniewski (1987) found that during the previous academic year, 11.5% of their sample of 3,192 U.S. women reported that they had had sex as a result of being overwhelmed by a man's "continual arguments and pressure" (p. 167). Since the age of 14, 39.4% of the women had experienced rape, attempted rape, or been coerced into sexual intercourse. Muehlenhard and Linton (1987) surveyed 341 U.S. college women, of whom 14.7% reported experiencing sexual intercourse against her will.

Among Canadian postsecondary students, DeKeseredy and Kelly (1993) found that 11.9% of their female subjects reported that during the previous year they had

engaged in sexual intercourse because they were overwhelmed by a man's continual arguments and pressure. Since high school, 20.2% of the women had been victimized in this way.

Being coerced into sexual activities other than vaginal intercourse occurs significantly more frequently -- in Koss et al.'s (1987) study, 54% of their U.S. female subjects reported experiencing unwanted sexual contact (including fondling, kissing, and petting), as did 78% of Muehlenhard and Linton's (1987) U.S. female subjects. (See Craig, 1990, for a review.) Brickman and Briere (1984) found that 21% of their 515 Canadian female subjects had been sexually assaulted, which they defined as a sexual act which took place against the woman's will, not including kissing. Among DeKeseredy and Kelly's (1993) student sample, 45% of the women had been sexually victimized since they left high school; 28% of the women had been sexually victimized during the previous year.

Surveys of male American college students have found that significant numbers of men report that they have coerced their female partners into sexual activities. Koss, Leonard, Beezley and Oros (1985) found that of 1,846 U.S. college men, 22.4% said that they had obtained intercourse from a woman through the use of verbal coercion, 4.3% had obtained intercourse through the threat of or use of physical force, and 4.9% had obtained sexual contact and/or attempted to obtain sexual intercourse through the threat of or use of physical force. Koss, Gidycz, and Wisniewski (1987) asked 2,972 U.S. college men about their previous academic year. During that one-year period, 7.2% reported that they had obtained intercourse by verbal coercion, 4.4% did so by force, and 3.3% had obtained sexual contact and/or attempted to obtain sexual intercourse through the threat of or use

of force. In Muehlenhard and Linton's (1987) study, subjects were asked whether they had ever engaged in sexual activity which the woman did not want, made it clear to the man that she did not want, but he engaged in the activity anyway. The researchers defined this as sexual aggression. Of the 368 U.S. college men who were subjects in the research, 57.3% reported having engaged in sexual aggression and 7.1% reported having intercourse against the woman's will. Craig, Kalichman, and Follingstad (1989) found that 42% of their sample of 194 U.S. college men acknowledged having had sexual relationships in which they verbally coerced their partner into sex.

Among DeKeseredy and Kelly's (1993) Canadian postsecondary students, 19.1% of the men reported having obtained sexual contact or sexual intercourse using one of the methods of sexual victimization inquired into by the survey since leaving high school. Within the last year, 11% of the men reported having engaged in sexual victimization.

It is interesting, although rather unproductive, to speculate about the number of men who had coerced a woman into sex but did not choose to report it. It is a truism that subjects underreport socially undesirable behaviours on self-report measures. Craig et al. (1989) suggest that their finding that 42% of their sample of men had been verbally sexually coercive, which they believed to be unusually high, may be due to the geographical location of their sample -- their subjects were Southern men. Because sexism is more overt, and in particular sex roles are more exaggerated, in the South, as compared with other areas of the U.S., it was assumed that sexually coercive behaviour would be seen as more appropriate by Southern men in comparison with men from other areas of the U.S. Traditional

sexual scripts have been argued to be argued to be causally linked with coercive sexuality (see pp. 39-42, below). Thus, Southern men might engage in sexually coercive behaviour more frequently than would other U.S. men. However, one might also argue that if it is seen by Southern men as less inappropriate to coerce a woman into sex, Southern men might thus underreport sexual coercion less than men from other areas of the U.S. It is therefore possible that reported rates of sexual coercion vary less because of differential rates of perpetration than because of differences in the extent to which men underreport their perpetration. Either possibility, or some combination of both, could increase the number of men admitting to engaging in this behaviour. Similarly, Koss and Dinero (1988) report men who self-report as sexually coercive are more likely to interact with peer groups that reinforce highly sexualized views of women. Such peer groups might increase the frequency of sexual coercive behaviour or merely increase its self-report by normalizing it. DeKeseredy and Kelly (1993) argue that men's underreporting due to social undesirability of the behaviour is evident in their research. The researchers found that the greatest difference between men's and women's reports is on those items which ask about behaviours which are most socially undesirable -- using physical force or threat of force to obtain sexual contact or sexual intercourse.

The Harm Done to Women by Coercive Sex

Although the number of coercive sexual experiences that women are reporting is alarming in itself (as is even the number of coercive sexual acts that men admit to perpetrating), recent research suggests that both rape and other forms of

coercive sex are much more damaging to women than is widely believed. The oft-quoted advice to "lie back and enjoy it" when rape is inevitable (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 347) is merely an extreme version of the relatively common rape myth that during a rape, a woman sustains little damage. As Burt (1991) describes it, many believe that no harm was done, as if rape were "just sex," rather than a violent and life-threatening experience (Burt, 1991, p. 29). Men frequently demonstrate their endorsement of this myth in their response to the observation that men can be raped. Cherry (1983) and Warshaw (1988), who have raised this possibility in classes and seminars about acquaintance rape, report that many men initially respond to the idea with enthusiasm, some sighing "rape me" (Cherry, 1983, 247). After hearing that most men are raped by other men, both writers report that many of these men retract their "consent" to the rape that they have been fantasizing. Both Cherry (1983) and Warshaw (1988) observe that the men then begin to understand the extent to which rape is about having power over and control of another and the vast discrepancy between rape and sex from the point of view of the victim. It is unfortunate that the efficacy of this demonstration relies on homophobia -- the men cannot imagine a man with whom they would willingly choose to have sex. Although these naive men appear to have difficulty imagining a woman with whom they would not choose to have sex if the opportunity arose, in those rare instances when men have been forced into sex by one or more women, they typically find the experience distressing and may be seriously harmed (Struckman-Johnson, 1991; Masters, 1986).

The belief that rape does little harm is particularly evident in cases where the victim knows, and especially when she is involved with, her rapist. Estrich (1987)

argues that the legal system's reluctance to label such rapes as "real rape" is in part a result of its inability to see such an occurrence as harmful to the victim. A California legislator invoked the tradition that submitting to sex upon demand (i.e., rape) is among a wife's duties when he asked "if you can't rape your wife, who can you rape?" (Russell, 1990, p. 132). That tradition was codified in the common law and its continued existence is evident in the seventeen American states where "wife rape" continues to be an oxymoron (Russell, 1990). This belief is particularly damaging because acquaintance rape occurs more frequently than does stranger rape (Renner et al., 1988; Yurchesyn et al., 1992; Koss et al., 1987; Russell, 1984), although until very recently this has not been apparent in the legal system (Yurchesyn et al., 1992).

A parallel occurs in child sexual abuse, where society has been more vigilant about protecting children from strangers than from members of their families, although being sexually abused by a family member adds the pain of betrayal of one's trust to the damage inflicted by the sexual abuse itself (Finkelhor & Browne, 1985). Parents continue to be concerned about "stranger danger," as seen in the media's efforts to assist parents in streetproofing their children and the recent spate of books on the subject, despite the convincing evidence that children are more likely to be sexually abused by someone they know than by a stranger (Russell, 1984).

Even women who have been raped by someone they know may have difficulty reconci'ing their experience with the myth that rape by a friend is no big deal, which suggests the power of this myth. Gavey (1991) used discourse analysis to elucidate the discursive themes that appeared in the interview responses of a

woman who had been raped at 21 by a man she had thought to be a friend. Gavey (1991) argues that the woman's discussion of the rape is dominated by two themes, one of which may be labelled "permissive sexuality" and the other "male sexual needs." Within the first discourse, the subject presents herself as a sexually liberated woman for whom sex is "no big deal" (Gavey, 1991, 468). For example, she said that "it didn't mean that much to me" and "sex without the love is just (pause) it's no different from wiping your bottom after you've gone to the toilet, or brushing your hair. It's a physical activity" (Gavey, 1991, 469). Within the second discourse, male sexual needs are seen as important and the subject presents herself as taking responsibility for meeting those needs. Thus, the subject repeatedly stressed that it was very important to the friend to have sex with her and gave that as the reason why she "let him have sex," which she also described as his "masturbat[ing] inside [her]" (Gavey, 1991, 469). The subject's privileging of the man's needs over her own also extends beyond sexual needs. When she was asked about the consequences of this sexual interaction, which he wanted and she did not, she began her response by talking about the negative consequences that she believes that he suffered.

Incompatible with these two discourses were several of the subject's statements that suggested that the experience had been difficult for her. She described herself as feeling "flat" and "depressed" afterward and said that looking back on it, she "[does] not like it" (Gavey, 1991, 469). Thus, this woman's discourse did acknowledge that for her, pain resulted from the sexual encounter, even though she also said that she "consented" and that "he certainly didn't force [her]" (Gavey, 1991, p. 469). Given that this particular woman had felt, recognized, and been

able to put into words the pain that being sexually coerced by this man had caused her, her need to intersperse these acknowledgements with repeated avowals that the experience didn't mean anything to her emphasizes the tremendous impact of the belief that rape among friends is just not-particularly-good sex. It also points simultaneously to the self-protective quality of this belief and its failure to protect women who have been victimized.

Many studies have simply assumed that rape or coercive sex is damaging for the woman, a reasonable assumption given that rape is a crime, as are many other coercive sexual acts (which vary by legal jurisdiction -- for example, some U.S. states have criminalized therapist-client sex [Sonne & Pope, 1991]). Other studies have explicitly investigated the traumatic sequelae of rape. While it is clear that rape is traumatic regardless of the relationship between victim and rapist, there has been much debate as to whether stranger rapes are more or less traumatic than acquaintance rapes (Katz, 1991). In her own study, Katz (1991) found that women raped by acquaintances attribute more blame to themselves for the rape, see themselves in a less positive light, and tend to have higher levels of psychological distress. Women raped by acquaintances were also found to recover more slowly (Katz, 1991). Gidycz and Koss (1991) detailed common symptoms of acquaintance rape victims, among which they identified anxiety and fearfulness, depression, and relationship and sexual difficulties, some of which may be long-lasting. Rape victims may also have sustained physical injuries during the rape and, less frequently, caught an STD or become pregnant (Gidycz & Koss, 1991). Rape may result in Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD; American Psychiatric Association, 1987). Kilpatrick, Saunders, Veronen, Best, and Von (1987, cited in

Gidycz & Koss, 1991) found that 17% of the rape victims in their community sample were still experiencing PTSD, although the rapes had taken place a mean of 17 years earlier. Kral (1993, personal communication) observes that among young women, a recent history of sexual assault has recently been identified as a risk factor for completed suicide.

Less information is available on the responses of women who have been coerced but not forced to have sex or have been coerced or forced into sexual activity that stopped short of intercourse. Koss (1985) divided her subjects into low-, moderately-, and two highly-sexually victimized groups, defined, respectively, as subjects who had undesired sexual intercourse pursuant to verbal coercion, subjects who had undesired sexual contact pursuant to force or threat of force, subjects who had undesired sexual intercourse pursuant to force or threat of force, but denied they had been raped, and subjects who had undesired sexual intercourse pursuant to force or threat of force and acknowledged that they had been raped. Although the emotional impact of the experience at the time of victimization was higher for the two groups of highly-sexually-victimized women than for members of the other two groups, the longterm negative emotional aftereffects were not significantly different among the four groups (Koss, 1985). Koss (1988, cited in Gidycz & Koss, 1991) found that 80% of women who had been sexually victimized reported that because of the assault, they had changed one or more of their behaviours or feelings. Sexual victimization may also result in suicidal ideation. Gidycz and Koss (1989) surveyed 67 U.S. high school girls, of whom 55% had experienced at least one sexual victimization. Thirty-eight per cent of the sexually victimized girls had contemplated suicide to the extent of choosing a

method, as compared with 10% of the nonvictimized girls. Thirty per cent of rape victims in Koss et al.'s (1987) study considered suicide after the attack (cited in Warshaw, 1988).

Gender Differences in Reported Experiences of Coerced Sex

As is evident from the review above, studies of coercive sex have consistently found that many more women report being coerced into sex by a man than men report perpetrating sexual coercion against a woman. Koss et al. (1987) also asked their subjects to indicate the frequency with which they were victims or perpetrators of coerced sex. The average number of sexually coercive experiences that victimized women reported experiencing was not significantly different from the average number of sexually coercive experiences reported by those men who admitted to perpetrating sexual coercion. Thus, for example, 13% of women reported that they had had sexual contact (fondling, kissing, etc.) because of a man's use of or threat of physical force. The mean number of incidents reported by the women was 2.1. In contrast, only 2% of the men reported obtaining sexual contact through the use of or threat of force. These men reported that they had done so a mean of 2.3 times. The authors concluded that the large number of women who have been sexually victimized cannot be accounted for by a small number of extremely predatory men. The discrepancy between the number of victimizations that women reported experiencing and the number of victimizations that men reported perpetrating suggest two possibilities – either some men who had been sexually coercive reported that they had never been sexually coercive or some men who reported that they had been sexually coercive underreported the

number of times that they had been sexually coercive. Koss et al. (1987) therefore propose that some men may not recognize that their female partner is experiencing their behaviour as coercive. In fact, the researchers state, somewhat defensively, that their observations about men's underreporting are "not [meant] to imply that intentional withholding is taking place" (Koss et al., 1987, p. 169), although given that some of the questions involve criminal behaviour, it seems absurd to suggest that no deliberate underreporting occurred. DeKeseredy and Kelly (1993) argue that the relatively larger discrepancies in men's and women's responses to SES items on being overwhelmed by continual arguments and pressure and on being too drunk or high to resist suggest the evidence of considerable mis-communication between men and women.

It may also be necessary to address the possibility that women may be overreporting the number of victimizations that they have experienced. The suspicion that a woman who makes an accusation of rape is lying afterward about a consensual sexual encounter has a long and ignoble history (Brownmiller, 1975). The procedural rules of rape trials, different from, and more stringent than, those of any other crime, were instituted in an effort to protect male defendants against malicious rape prosecutions (Boyle, 1984; Estrich, 1987); they also had the effect of making it much more difficult to convict a man of even an actual rape. Yet almost 20 years ago, Clark and Lewis (1977) and Brownmiller (1975) cited evidence that complaints of rape are determined to be unfounded no more frequently than those of any other crime, so long as those who determine whether or not a complaint is founded do not hold prejudiced views of rape and rape victims (e.g., automatically classifying as unfounded a complaint of rape made by a woman with a "bad

reputation"). More recently, Estrich (1987) has asserted that "from all we know, the nightmare case [in which a man is falsely accused of rape] is highly unlikely even to be reported to the police, let alone prosecuted" (p. 56). Many victims of rape do not choose to report the rape to authorities (Renner et al., 1988). Of those who do, the majority find the processes involved in reporting a rape and then pursuing the complaint through the criminal justice system to be traumatic. The process has often been referred to as the "second rape" (e.g., Madigan & Gamble, 1991) and is the principal reason for the refusal of many rape victims to report the crime (Renner et al., 1988). When bona fide victims of rape find the process of pursuing a complaint so difficult, motivation sufficient to make a false complaint must be rare. Finally, to be a victim of rape or sexual coercion continues to be seen as shameful, especially when the aggressor is an acquaintance. Thus, there are many reasons why it is unlikely that women would overreport victimization. There is, however, good reasons why men would underreport their perpetration of sexual coercion -- the social undesirability of the behaviour in some if not all circumstances, and its illegality, de jure if not de facto (MacKinnon, 1987).

Koss (1988) used the data of Koss et al.'s (1987) subjects to investigate further the differences in women's and men's perceptions of coercive sexual experiences. All subjects who had had one or more coercive sexual experiences filled out an extensive questionnaire about the worst such experience. Koss (1988) compared the responses of the women who had been victims of rape with the responses of the men who had perpetrated rape. There were no significant gender differences in many aspects of the experiences reported, including the relationship of victim and offender (women reported that 84% of the incidents involved an offender known to

the victim and 57% of offenders were dates, while men reported that they knew 84% of their victims and 61% were dates), the location of the assaults, and the number of offenders who used alcohol or drugs (women reported 73%, while men reported 74%). Other aspects of the coercive sexual experiences were described significantly differently by women and men. The female victims reported that their nonconsent was clear (mean of 4.05 on a 6-point scale), whereas the male offenders reported that their victims' nonconsent was not at all clear (mean of 1.80). Eighty-four per cent of women reported that they had used reasoning as a form of resistance and 70% of women reported that they had physically struggled. Men reported that only 36% of their victims had used reasoning and 12% had physically struggled. The victims reported that less consensual sexual interaction had occurred before the assault (mean of 3.52) than did the men (mean of 4.37). The victims reported that they resisted more (mean of 3.80) and their aggressor used more force (mean of 3.88) than did the aggressors (means of 1.83 and 2.85 respectively). The victims felt somewhat responsible, but less responsible than the perpetrator (means of 2.80 and 4.29), whereas the perpetrators felt that they were slightly less responsible for what had happened than their victims were (means of 2.43 and 2.85). Similar differences were evident between women's descriptions of being coerced into sex and men's descriptions of coercing a woman into sex.

Muehlenhard and Linton (1987) asked their subjects to describe their most recent date and their worst experience with sexual aggression while on a date. Sexual aggression was defined as sexual activity which the woman made it clear that she did not want but the man engaged in anyway. Both women and men reported that men had felt led on more often during sexual aggression dates than

recent dates. Women almost always said that this had been unintentional on their part, implying that their partner had misinterpreted their behaviour. Men, however, were about evenly split on whether their partner led them on intentionally or unintentionally. Women reported that they had wanted sexual contact and sexual intercourse less on sexual aggression dates than on recent dates. Men reported that women had wanted sexual contact more on sexual aggression dates than on recent dates and had wanted sexual intercourse as much on sexual aggression dates as recent dates. For other variables investigated by the authors, including who paid for the date, who drove, the use of alcohol and other drugs, and dating activity and location, there was much less discrepancy between women's and men's descriptions of their sexual aggression dates.

Gender differences in experiences of coercive sex are also evident in the sometimes very different responses of victims and perpetrators to the assault. Anecdotal evidence from victims of rape suggests that many rapists do not perceive that their behaviour might have been displeasing to the victim. In interviews with victims of acquaintance rape, Warshaw (1988) found that some rapists asked their victims out again or indicated verbally that they believed that their victims had enjoyed the experience. Bechhofer and Parrot (1991) describe as the "usual" outcome of a date rape that the victim feels raped (although she may not label what has happened to her as rape; that is, she experiences that negative emotions and other consequences that are typical among women who have been forced into sex) and that the assailant believes that he has done nothing wrong (p. 11). Clark and Lewis (1977) found that of that the rapists in their study, men whose victims had reported them to the police, "the majority ... did not believe that they had

done anything wrong" (p. 101). Some of these men felt that they had done nothing wrong because they did not believe that their victim had any right to sexual self-determination. Her wishes were seen as irrelevant. Other men appeared to accept that the woman had a right to refuse sex; they denied that the sex was coercive and instead characterized what happened as a seduction. In one astonishing study (Scully & Marolla, 1984), even some men whose sexual coercion of women had been so forceful and so obvious that they had been convicted of rape and sentenced to prison (a small minority of rapists) appeared unable to understand that what they had done was in fact against their victim's will.

Scully and Marolla (1984) studied men who were serving time in prison for rape. The rapists they interviewed tended to explain their crimes in one of two ways. Members of one group admitted that they had raped and sought to excuse their raping through a variety of circumstances beyond their control (e.g., being drunk). Members of the other group maintained that they had not raped their victim. They did admit to behaviours that are more consistent with rape than consensual sex, such as physically injuring the woman, but appeared to see no inconsistency between these behaviours and their claim that they had not raped. Thus, these rapists appeared to believe that the rape had in fact been consensual sex -- that is, they believed that the woman had wanted to have sex with them.

Thus, one significant difference between women's reports of experiencing coercive sex and men's reports of perpetrating coercive sex is the desire for sexual activity that the woman is described as having. This is evident in the difference between victims' and perpetrators' depictions of the amount of consensual sexual activity that occurred before the assault, the clarity of the victim's nonconsent, the

extent of the victim's resistance, the responsibility borne by each person, whether the victim intended to sexually excite the perpetrator, and the reactions of victim and perpetrator to the coercive sex. There are a number of other types of studies that provide evidence that many men overestimate women's interest in sexual interaction in situations other than those involving coercive sex.

Men's Misperception of Women's Sexual Intent

In a series of studies, Abbey and her colleagues (summarized in Abbey, 1991) have consistently found evidence which supports the assertion that men may often misperceive women as more sexually interested than they actually are. In surveys of U.S. undergraduates, both women and men are found to have frequently experienced their friendliness toward a member of the other sex being misperceived as sexual interest, but women report being misperceived significantly more often than men.[4] In laboratory studies, men and women were asked to observe a heterosexual pair interacting and then to rate their behaviour on a number of Likert scales. Men were found to rate both the male and female actors as more flirtatious, seductive, and promiscuous than do women observers.[5] Because no sex differences were found in men's and women's ratings of the actors' flirtatiousness, the actors' desire to get to know their partner better, or to become friends, sex differences in perceptions of the other sex appear to be directly related to sexuality. Moreover, the female actors perceived themselves as behaving in a friendly rather a seductive manner toward their male counterpart, despite the sexualized way that they were perceived by male observers. In rating staged photographs of heterosexual pairs, male subjects perceived the women in the

photos as more seductive, sexy, and promiscuous than did female subjects. In some but not all of the studies, the male subjects rated the men in a more sexualized way than did the women (Abbey, 1991), which suggests that the findings were not only a result of subjects' (presumed) heterosexuality. Thus, although this research suggests that men view both men and women in more sexual terms than do women, the differences between women and men are greatest and most consistent in reference to women.

Johnson, Stockdale, and Saal (1991) found that this gender difference in perception also occurs in situations in which the woman is being harassed by the man. Even when a male professor was shown quite openly harassing a female student, male observers rated the female student as trying to behave in a more seductive, sexy, promiscuous, and attractive manner than did female observers. In particular, men saw the female student's behaviour as somewhat sexual, although during the vignette, she was shown trying to reject the harassing professor's advances. Male subjects also saw a female professor as behaving more sexually toward a male student than did female subjects.

Sexual intent inferred from the circumstances of a date. Muehlenhard (1988a) found that many of the circumstances that may surround a date have different meanings for men and women. Two hundred and seventy-two female and 268 male U.S. undergraduates were presented with 11 brief scenarios about a dating couple, John and Mary. The scenarios manipulated who initiated the date, what the couple did while on the date, and who paid the expenses of the date. Subjects were asked how much they thought that Mary wanted sex in each scenario and whether, if it turned out that Mary did not want to have sex with John, John

would be justified in having sex with Mary in any case. Dating activity, who initiated the date, and who paid the expenses affected both sexes' ratings of Mary's interest in sex in the same way. Going to John's apartment was interpreted to mean that Mary was more interested in sex than was going to a movie, which was in turn less suggestive than going to a religious function. Mary's asking for the date meant that she was more interested in sex than when she had hinted that she would like to go out with John, which in turn meant that she was more interested in sex than when John asked her out without her hinting. Mary was seen as more interested in sex when she let John pay the dating expenses then when she paid her own way. However, across all of the scenarios, men's ratings of Mary's interest in sex were higher than women's. Moreover, rape was rated as at least somewhat justifiable in some of the scenarios by more men than women -- by 32.8% of the traditional men and 16.5% of the nontraditional men and by 24.0% of the traditional women and 13.9% of the nontraditional women. Thus, the gender differences observed in this study may result in a woman's sexual interest in her date being inferred to be greater than it is, based on the circumstances of the date. She may perceive her behaviour as less suggestive than her date does, particularly if he has a more traditional sex-role orientation than she does.

Women's reluctance to be open about their (lack of) sexual interest. Another reason why men may overestimate a woman's interest in sex is that the woman may feel unable to openly indicate that she does not want to have sex or is interested in engaging in only a low level of sexual intimacy. In a study in which female subjects were presented with scenarios in which a man was described as asking for intercourse, in only 58.9% of the scenarios did the subjects say they

would feel comfortable refusing the request (Linton & Muehlenhard, 1985, cited in Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987). The researchers apparently did not investigate differences between the women who reported that they would be able to refuse and those who reported that they would be unable to refuse -- attitudes toward relationships and sex and/or a prior history of sexual coercion might be related to their comfort in refusing a sexual advance. The difficulty that many women appear to have in refusing a request for sex is particularly disturbing because it suggests that they will be unable to negotiate safer sex, at a time when unsafe sex may be lifethreatening.

Women may not feel free to decline sexual invitations because of their expectations about the outcome of a refusal. In her study of unwanted intercourse, Lewin (1985) found that when she asked her female subjects what the outcome would be of a woman refusing sex with a man with whom she was out on a date, 92% said that the man would be angry, 85% that he would find the woman uptight or old-fashioned, 74% that he would lose self-esteem as a man, and 82% said that he would not want to see the woman again. Additionally, 75% agreed that the woman would feel concerned that she has hurt the man. This is particularly striking because it was the most frequently-endorsed response to a question about the woman's feelings after her refusal (participants could agree with as many as they chose of the 13 feelings listed by the researchers). This study suggests that a woman often does not perceive herself as having a free choice about whether she wishes to refuse sexual advances. If a woman believes, as 82% of the women in this study did, that not only will refusing her date's sexual advances make him angry or unhappy, but that he will not want to see her again, she will feel that she

is being forced to choose between unwanted sex and the loss of the relationship.

Men's discounting of a woman's expression of her lack of sexual interest. One of the most widespread of rape myths is that "women never mean no" (Burt, 1991, p. 30). Feminists have long attempted to debunk this rape myth through the use of slogans such as "what part of NO don't you understand?" and "no means no." The latter has been taken up as part of an educational campaign against acquaintance rape by the Ontario Federation of Students (1991) and the Canadian Federation of Students (1992).

Gilmartin-Zena (1988) asked 198 U.S. undergraduates to respond to 24 statements, each of which was a rape myth or the negation of a rape myth. Only 52.1% of the subjects agreed with the statement "if a woman says no to sexual advances, that is what she really means" (Gilmartin-Zena, 1988, p. 283). Moreover, significantly fewer men than women agreed with the statement ($p < .001$). In another study, 74% of the sample of U.S. college men agreed that dating partners frequently say "no" to sexual activity when in fact they mean "yes" (Sandberg, Jackson, & Petretic-Jackson, 1987). Fifty-two per cent of the U.S. college women in that sample reported that they held this belief. (It is important to note that the women were asked about whether "women" often said no and meant yes, rather than whether they themselves did so.)

Muehlenhard (1988b) argues that men simply do not believe it when a woman says "no" to sex. She and an associate (Muehlenhard & Felts, 1987, cited in Muehlenhard, 1988b) asked their U.S. college student subjects to consider two scenarios about two people on a date. In one scenario, the woman engaged in many behaviours that previous research indicated would be interpreted as

indicating a lack of interest in sex – she dressed conservatively, drank only soft drinks, and she engaged in no voluntary physical contact with the man. When he made sexual advances, she said no immediately, did so three times, and tried to move away. Despite these behaviours, men rating the woman's interest in sex with this man assigned a mean score of 4.5 on a 9-point scale. In other studies, even where the sexual encounter involves force and the woman fights back physically, her desire for sex is rated by men as being above the lowest rating (Shotland & Goodstein, 1983; Muehlenhard, 1988b). Thus, even in the most extreme circumstances, many men apparently cannot believe that a woman may have no desire at all to have sex.

Investigation of the frequency with which a woman in fact does say "no" to a sexual proposition when she means "yes," however, suggests that the behaviour is considerably rarer than both men and women believe. Many men and women believe that women regularly say "no" to sex when in fact they do want to have sex. However, research suggests that the majority of women have never done so, and of those who have, most have done so very infrequently. Thus, in fact, it is quite unusual for a woman to say "no" and mean "yes" and very few women do so often. Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh (1988) found that 39.3% of their female U.S. college student subjects had said indicated to a man that they did not want to have sex although they "had every intention to and were willing to engage in sexual intercourse" (p. 874). Of the women who reported that they had done so, 32.5% reported doing so only once, 45.6% reported two to five times, while only 2.9% reported that they had done so more than twenty times. In a similar study, Muehlenhard and McCoy (1991) found that among women who had had voluntary

sexual intercourse with a man, 59.8% had never said refused a sexual proposition when they did want to have sex. These subjects were asked to fill out a measure of acceptance of the sexual double standard both for themselves and for their sexual partners. Women's use of a deceptive "no" was not correlated with their own acceptance of the sexual double standard. With regards to situations in which they had used the deceptive "no," however, women reported that their sexual partners accepted the sexual double standard to a greater extent than did the sexual partners in situations where women had openly acknowledged their desire to have sex (Muehlenhard & McCoy, 1991). The authors suggest that a woman's use of a deceptive refusal in a situation where she believes her partner endorses the sexual double standard may be her most logical response to the double bind in which he has placed her.[6]

As Estrich (1987) and other writers have noted, in a court of law, the onus typically is on the prosecution, and hence the victim, to demonstrate to the court's satisfaction that she did not consent to the sexual assault. This onus is unique to the crime of rape; its absurdity and offensiveness may be easily demonstrated by imagining a victim of robbery being asked whether he didn't <u>really</u> want to give up his money to the defendant. The legal system, like many men, simply assumes that a woman wants to have sex unless she can satisfactorily prove otherwise.

Quinn, Sanchez-Hucles, Coates, and Gillen (1991) found that the type of refusal used by a woman in vignettes, whether an explicit "no" or the excuse "it's getting late and I need to go home," did not affect frequency with which male subjects reported that they would comply with the refusal, nor did it influence the frequency of the man's compliance as expected by the female subjects. This again

suggests that a woman's "no" is seen to have little meaning. Men appear to interpret a woman's refusal according to their own expectations, rather than taking her at her word.

The situation is complicated further if consensual (or apparently consensual) sexual activity of any kind has already occurred. Some men apparently do not believe that a woman's "no" is clearly indicative of lack of interest in further or more intimate sexual activity if it follows some amount of consensual sexual activity. When two male researchers wanted to manipulate the "ambiguity in the victim's desire for intercourse," they did so by manipulating the timing of her "no" (Johnson & Jackson, 1988, p. 39). In the unambiguous condition, the woman "quickly and clearly indicated that he should cease such advances and she want not interested in sex" (Johnson & Jackson, 1988, p. 39). In the ambiguous condition, she "allowed him to kiss her extensively before she indicated that she did not want to engage in intercourse" (Johnson & Jackson, 1988, p. 39, my emphasis). I would argue that the "ambiguous" condition is not ambiguous in the least -- because kissing and sexual intercourse are two different activities, it seems logically incorrect to draw inferences about a woman's consent to the second from her consent to the first. I find it peculiar that the researchers find unimaginable the possibility that a woman might want to want to kiss and cuddle with a man without wanting to have sexual intercourse with him. Johnson and Jackson (1988) conducted a manipulation check of this independent variable. Twenty-four independent judges (sex unspecified) assessed the clarity of the victim's refusal on a five-point scale, with 1 signifying totally clear and 5 signifying totally unclear. The mean score for the unambiguous condition was 1.5 and the mean for the

ambiguous condition was 4. That the woman was seen as less than totally clear about her lack of interest in sex in even the "unambiguous" condition underscores Muehlenhard's (1988b) point that it is almost impossible to get people, especially men, to see a woman's behaviour in a dating situation as indicating no sexual interest. More disturbing, however, is that the 'ambiguous' refusal was seen as so unclear, a mean score of 4 on a 1 to 5 scale. One wonders how much clearer the woman could have been without refusing to engage in any sexual activity. Johnson and Jackson's (1988) subjects also saw a significant difference in the two refusals made by the woman, because more responsibility was attributed to the woman for her rape in the "ambiguous" condition.[7]

The relationship between the victim's perceived interest in sex and a man's coercive sexual behaviour. That many men consistently overestimate a woman's interest in sex would not be so disturbing if it had no effect on their behaviour. However, research suggests that such overestimation increases the likelihood of sexually coercive behaviour. I am somewhat puzzled by the logical contradiction inherent in this finding. Were the woman in fact as interested in sex as the man perceives her as being, he would not need to coerce her into sex. Yet the research is clear that many men believe that the woman is "really" interested in having sex, despite her avowals to the contrary, and yet also believe that coercive behaviour is appropriate (which implies that they see coercion as necessary) in the circumstances.

Muehlenhard (1988a) found a positive correlation between her subjects' perception of the woman's interest in sex and the justifiability of coerced sex. Subjects were asked how justified the man would be in having sex with the woman

against her wishes. Both the victim's interest in sex and the justifiability of rape were highest in the scenarios where the woman initiated the date, when the dating activity was going to the man's apartment, and when the man paid the dating expenses. A similar study used vignettes of a coercive sexual encounter that occurred during a date, which varied in the amount of force used by the man, the timing of the woman's initial protest, and the type of protest she used. From their subjects' responses, Shotland and Goodstein (1983) constructed a causal model of when subjects would label the encounter as rape. They found subjects' perceptions of the woman's desire for sex and subjects' perceptions of the violence of the encounter to be the two intervening variables underlying their decision about whether to label the sexual encounter as rape.

In Johnson & Jackson's (1988) study, subjects attributed more responsibility to the woman who was forced to have intercourse after her refusal for the rape in the "ambiguous" condition than they did in the "nonambiguous" condition (although in neither condition was she entirely absolved of responsibility). The researchers described the differences in the conditions as a difference in the victim's desire for intercourse, and the 24 independent judges agreed; the researchers concluded that where the victim had not made her lack of desire for intercourse clear, she was seen as to some extent responsible for its occurrence. However, it is not clear whether that is the interpretation that the subjects made. It is possible that the results were due instead to the subjects' endorsement of the rape myth that if a woman enters a sexual interaction, she is responsible for its eventual outcome (Burt, 1991). Thus, the subjects may have believed that by voluntarily kissing the man, the victim forfeited her right to choose whether to have intercourse with him.

The researchers did not discuss this alternative explanation.

Quinn, Sanchez-Hucles, Coates, & Gillen (1991) investigated men's compliance with a woman's refusal of sexual advances. The relationship of compliance to type of refusal (explicit "no" or an excuse), intimacy level (kissing, the man touching the woman's breasts, the man touching the woman's genitals), and dating stage (first date, several dates, going steady) were examined. Men reported that they would be more persistent and coercive at higher levels of intimacy and women expected this behaviour from men. The authors conclude that "women were seen as forfeiting their right to say 'No' beyond a certain level of consensual intimacy" (Quinn et al., 1991, 26). I would agree that the study's results provide evidence that men see women as forfeiting that right. The outcome of the study, however, is not inconsistent with the alternate explanation that women believe in the existence of the right, but expect that it will not be respected by men. In their conclusions, the authors disagree with the interpretation made by other researchers that a later "no" is indicative of greater sexual desire on the part of the victim, which is seen as justifying coercive sexual behaviour on the part of the man. Rather, they suggest that their subjects believe that a later "no" is sufficient reason to justify men's sexual aggression. I would restrict this conclusion to men.

Men's apparent acceptance that it is appropriate for a man to act according to his perception of a woman's desire for sex, despite a verbal refusal, is troubling. Moreover, because men typically see a woman as more interested in sex than she is, the belief would seem to justify a significant amount of coercive sex. It thus becomes imperative to study more closely precisely those cues men actually use to infer sexual desire in women during their interactions.

Misperception as a Result of Focus on Own Behaviour

Studies which have investigated the responses of subjects to vignettes of coercive sexual activity have typically found that men focus on the behaviour of the man in the vignette and women focus on the woman's behaviour in deciding upon their responses (Langley et al., 1991, MacRae & Shepard, 1989, Bourque, 1989). Langley et al. (1991) observed that their male subjects judged whether rape had occurred by examining the degree of force the man in the vignette used, whereas female subjects based their judgements on the fear of the victim. Thus, a man's focus on his own behaviour may result in an underestimation of the amount of coercion being experienced by his victim. If she cooperates with him sexually because she fears that he may use force, he may not perceive himself as coercing her.

Sexual Scripts and Coerced Sex

One approach that has been used to investigate sexual behaviour is that of scripts. Scripts are conceptual representations of stereotyped event sequences (Abelson, 1981). In certain contexts, a particular script is activated and it then guides an individual's behaviour and her or his expectations of others (Abelson, 1981). Scripts encapsulate cultural norms and increase the likelihood that individuals in a particular situation will behave in accordance with the cultural norm. The existence of sexual scripts is evident in the consistency of people's sexual behaviours and in their stereotypes about what sex is. It can be argued that sexual coercion is a natural and frequent outcome of our current sexual scripts (Jackson, 1978). Moreover, Jackson (1978) suggests that these scripts provide

justification for men to engage in coercive sex.

It has been argued that for many members of this society the (hetero)sexual script continues to be the traditional script in which a man initiates or increases the intimacy of a sexual encounter with a woman, while the woman accepts or attempts to resist this escalation (McCormick, 1979; McCormick & Jesser, 1983; Laplante, McCormick, & Brannigan, 1980). Thus, sexual coercion often results from the failure of the woman to resist the man's attempt to escalate the sexual encounter forcefully enough that he actually changes his behaviour. More recently, McCormick (1987) has labelled the assumptions of this script "irrational ideas about sex," which are nevertheless held by "normal" young and middle-aged adults (p. 8).[8] Lewin (1985) argued that the traditional sexual script leads to the frequent occurrence of unwanted intercourse, in part because the man has the initiative, and hence can orchestrate the sexual encounter to suit his own level of sexual arousal.

Recent research has suggested that the traditional sexual script may not be as rigidly adhered to in practice as it is in theory. Perper and Weis (1987) asked 29 U.S. and 48 Canadian undergraduate women to write an essay describing how they would seduce a man. Eighty-seven per cent of their respondents responded by describing many different strategies which they would use to begin a sexual encounter with a man who had not made sexual advances toward them. Perper and Weis (1987) concluded that, contrary to the traditional script, women can and do initiate sexual encounters with men in whom they are interested. The authors do not make a distinction between their subjects being capable of initiating sexual interactions and their actually doing so in their own lives.

Perper and Weis (1987) labelled their subjects' strategies "proceptive," a term that comes from research on animal sexual behaviour, in which females have been found to engage in behaviour patterns "performed to solicit the male sexually, to arouse him, or to elicit his attempts to copulate with her" (p. 456). Despite their egalitarian values, evident in their assertion that either sex can initiate a sexual interaction, Perper and Weis (1987) seem to be uncomfortable with the concept of heterosexual sex in which the woman is dominant. For example, although only 14.5% of their subjects explicitly wrote that the man assumes the initiative in the sexual encounter in some fashion, Perper and Weis (1987) conclude that women's proceptive scripts typically end either with the initiative passing to the man and sexual intercourse being achieved or with the failure of the man to respond to the woman's signals, so that she eventually ceases making overtures. They do not explain why they inferred that the sexual initiative had passed to the man in those scripts in which the subjects had not explicitly so indicated.

McCormick and Jesser (1983) note that women make use of subtle strategies that attract a man without his realizing that she is attempting to do so. Thus, although the man in which a woman is interested may in fact be responding to her interest in him, he often believes that he has chosen her and that he made the first move toward her. Although the use of such strategies may increase a woman's chances of achieving a desired sexual interaction, they may be less helpful preventing sexual interactions which the woman does not want. Perper and Weis (1987) also asked their subjects to write an essay about how they would reject a man. They found that many subjects said that to do so they would avoid proceptive behaviour. Yet for men who do not notice proceptive behaviours, their

absence is unlikely to indicate that the woman is uninterested in sex. Thus, to the extent that a woman relies on such strategies, she is more likely to experience unwanted sexual contact.

Evidence that proceptive strategies are unlikely to be a useful way for women to avoid coercive sex is provided by studies of the old concept of "leading a man on" (Muehlenhard & MacNaughton, 1988). A woman is said to "lead a man on" when she behaves toward a man in such a way that she is perceived as indicating to others and in particular to the man involved that she wishes to have sex with him, whether or not she is in fact sexually interested in the man. Thus, proceptive strategies form a subset of things that women do to lead men on (i.e., they are the things that women do intentionally to communicate a desire for sex with a particular man to that man). Muehlenhard and MacNaughton (1988) note that many people, both men and women, continue to believe that a woman who leads a man on deserves to be raped.

Thus, not only do some men believe that a woman who leads a man on likely to get raped, but they also believe that rape is appropriate behaviour in those circumstances. This belief is quite likely to result in conflict -- in describing dates where the woman led the man on, women reported that they did not mean to do so, whereas half of the men said that their partner had led them on intentionally (Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987).

Men as Victims of Coercive Sex

More recently, some investigators have looked at the experiences of men who have been the victims of coercive sex (Struckman-Johnson, 1991). This work has

been somewhat confusing because some studies have focused on men as victims of heterosexual sexual aggression, while other studies have examined the experiences of men as victims of sexual assault, without discussing how many men were victimized by other men.[9] One community survey found that 7.2% of the 1,480 men interviewed reported that they had been pressured or forced to have sexual contact sometime after age 16 (Sorenson, 1989, cited in Struckman-Johnson, 1991). In a survey of 507 male and 486 female college students, Muehlenhard and Cook (1988) found that 63% of the men had had intercourse that they had not wanted with female dates. Six and a half per cent of the men reported being forced to have intercourse. In contrast, 46% of the women reported experiencing intercourse that they did not want and 6% reported being physically coerced.[10]

I am somewhat concerned by the use of the term "sexual coercion" to describe the experiences of many of these men. Among Muehlenhard and Cook's (1988) subjects, the most frequent reasons that men had unwanted intercourse were sexual enticement, wanting to help the woman, being sexually inexperienced, and being intoxicated. These reasons, although they do not contradict the men's description of the intercourse as unwanted, suggest that they still had a considerable degree of choice as to whether to have intercourse, although they were experiencing some amount of pressure. In contrast to women, fear of the consequences of a refusal to have sex is unlikely to have been part of the men's experience. It is also important to recognize that in most cases the pressure was due to the male sex role and/or the man's own conflicting desires. Thus, the woman may not have been behaving at all coercively, nor may she have been aware that the man did not want to engage in sex. In contrast, studies of women's

reports of sexual coercion have defined experiences of sexual coercion considerably more narrowly, the freedom of their choice having to be much more restricted (e.g., "continual arguments and pressure," Koss et al., 1987) in order to qualify as a sexually coercive experience. The effect of these two gender-specific definitions of sexual coercion is that it appears that men experience sexual coercion as much as women do. Sexual coercion thus appears to be a gender neutral phenomenon, although women's and men's experiences of sexual coercion are in fact very different. For example, both men and women may experience unwanted sex because of excesssive drinking. However, for women, coercive sex is defined to occur when the woman is too intoxicated to prevent intercourse from happening (Koss et al., 1987), while studies of men's unwanted sexual experiences include sexual encounters that a man had had while intoxicated that he would have realized that he did not want if he had been sober (Muehlenhard & Cook, 1988). Both kinds of experiences are neither appropriate nor desirable, but they are not, as a result of this, comparable.

Struckman-Johnson (1988) found that while both women and men reported being coerced into sex on dates, women were most often physically coerced and men were most often psychologically coerced. She also found that 44% of the men in her study felt neutral about the episode of unwanted sex when it happened, while the remainder were evenly divided between positive and negative feelings. Moreoever, few men reported long term negative effects. This again highlights the contrast with women's experience with unwanted sex, which is typically negative and often devastating. Finally, Muehlenhard and Cook (1988) note that violent and nonviolent physical coercion are more similar when they are used against

women then they are when used against men. For men, the items measuring these two kinds of coercion loaded on two different factors, while for women, they loaded on the same factor. This suggests that in women's experience, nonviolent coercion may escalate into violent coercion (and hence is implicitly violent), while for men the two remain distinct. Thus, again the evidence suggests that men's experience with sexual coercion is considerably different from women's.

CHAPTER II

THE PRESENT STUDY

Rationale

Collectively, the conclusions of researchers who have investigated the prevalence of coercive sex provide convincing evidence that coercive sex is a very serious problem. The research uniformly indicates that rape, as legally defined, is a common experience for women and coercive sex, in its varied forms, is even more common (see pp. 6-15, above). (There remains a certain amount of debate about exact frequencies, which will doubtless continue at least until victims are no longer stigmatized nor blamed because they were victimized [Renner et al., 1988], and thus will report their experiences openly.) The methodologies of many of these studies have been quite strong, either through the use of random or representative samples (Russell, 1984; Brickman & Briere, 1984) or through the use of very large and geographically varied samples (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1993; Koss et al., 1987), supporting the generalizability of the findings.

Both the frequency of occurrence of coercive sex and its traumatic aftermath support the importance of research in this field. Researchers have been guided by their desire to increase the understanding of rape, especially of victims of rape, and ultimately to decrease both its frequency and the painfulness of its consequences. Warshaw's (1988) work is more explicit than most in its avowal of this goal -- she entitled her book (which was written for women at risk of rape, i.e., all women), I

Never Called It Rape: The Ms. Report on Recognizing, Fighting, and Surviving Date and Acquaintance Rape. Many researchers also conduct acquaintance rape prevention seminars, where they work with both women and men (e.g., many of the contributors to Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991), although too many rape prevention programs continue to focus on teaching women how to avoid rape (Corcoran, 1992).

Although much has been learned about rape, I believe that more innovative methodologies must be used to furnish the information needed to work effectively toward the goal of ultimately preventing (most) coercive sex. Many of the researchers and educators who work in the area of coercive sex argue that many incidents of coercive sex are to some extent a consequence of misunderstandings between the members of a couple. The study of this kind of coercive sex is important because it can be directly applied in prevention programs. As reviewed above (pp. 29-37), much research has suggested that there may be substantial differences in the perceptions of the two members of a dating couple -- perceptions which relate to both the other member of the couple and a number of the circumstances surrounding the date. Moreover, because these differences in perception do vary in a quite consistent way with gender, education about these kinds of differences between women and men could allow both members of a heterosexual pair to more clearly perceive the other, unencumbered by sex role stereotypes. The more explicitly research can define what is being misperceived, what cues are being used, how these cues are interpreted both singly and collectively, and how decisions are then made, the clearer will be the sequence of perceptions and behaviour that often results in coercive sex (that is, sex which is coercive from the viewpoint of the woman, if not necessarily from that of the man).

Methodological Limitations of Earlier Studies

Many of the studies in this field, and most of the best studies, are large-scale surveys, which were designed to investigate the prevalence of rape, often on U.S. college campuses, and some of its correlates. Although these studies have given much valuable information, in particular confirming that the prevalence of rape is shockingly high (whether one relies upon the reports of victims or those of perpetrators), the usefulness of this kind of study for more in-depth research is limited. Surveys can not gather enough information to allow a complete understanding of the circumstances under which coerced sex takes place.

Moreover, the usefulness of these surveys is limited by their data base. Research done on college women and men is highly class-biased, members of the lower and lower-middle classes being underrepresented on college campuses, and also racially-biased. On the other hand, rape research which has been done using rapes reported to the criminal justice system has been based largely on rapes committed by lower-class men (Clark & Lewis, 1977). Although it has been argued that lower-class men commit as disporportionate number of rapes (e.g., Clark & Lewis, 1977), many researchers believe that the frequency with which men rape is independent of class (Russell, 1990).

The effects of education on the rate of sexual coercion is currently unknown. As college men are more likely to have been exposed to feminism and feminist education, one might argue that their greater knowledge about the negative effects of rape would result in their engaging in less sexual coercion than other men who have been less influenced by feminism. The force of this argument is, however, considerably lessened by Scully and Marolla's (1984) observation that many rapists

can explain away their own violent or threatening behaviours, so that they describe their rape as a consensual sexual act which was pleasurable for the victim. Thus, some of these rapists insisted that it was not rape, although they broke into their victim's home or caused her physical injury. There is also some question about whether college men are also exposed to more pro-rape ideology than the average man. For example, Norman Mailer, a respected U.S. writer, has written "a little rape is good for a man's soul" (cited in Brownmiller 1975, p. 339).

Beyond the prevalence studies, the vast majority of the research in the field, and thus the research cited above, has little ecological validity. Most frequently, researchers have used vignettes, written or verbal scenarios, to assess the impact of various factors on the occurrence of rape. Yet vignettes can study only the impact of a limited number of factors. (The most ambitious piece of research using vignettes that I saw varied eight factors across scenarios [Bourque, 1989]. These eight factors gave rise to 132 scenarios and an extremely complicated data analysis.) Vignette studies have suggested a large number of variables that may be interpreted differently by the two members of the dating pair in such a way that they may increase the chance that coercive sexual contact will occur. Such variables include: who initiates the date, who pays for the date, who organizes the date, who provides the transportation, where they go on the date, the consumption of alcohol, how the other person is dressed, the presence or absence of a large number of signals or strategies that are intended to suggest an interest in sexual interaction (looking, touch, conversational variables, etc.), and so on.

Vignette research is restricted in a number of ways. Because a vignette can incorporate only a limited number of the multiplicity of factors which may

influence the occurrence of rape, it is impossible to study how all of the factors interact, although presumably many of them do. Moreover, many of the more subtle, and perhaps more important, cues may be impossible to capture within the context of a vignette. Putting a behaviour into words (and hence calling attention to it) may make a very different impression than does that behaviour when it is acted out.

Vignettes are thus simplistic sketches that ultimately bear little resemblance to the multitude of cues, some overt, some extremely subtle, many perhaps personal, that an individual would be experiencing were she or he in a situation similar to the one which the vignette is designed to represent. This is dramatically illustrated by the occurrence in many vignettes of an explicit statement that the sex that occurred was against the will of the woman. In a typical sexual encounter, a large number of cues are available to a person who is making sexual advances as to whether the partner is willing, somewhat willing, a little unwilling or unwilling to engage in the sex act desired, where "cues" are cues as perceived by the person, rather than those sent by the partner. Thus, the difference between the situation depicted and the vignette that is intended to depict it is significant. Moreover, the frequency with which the subjects report that the woman in the vignette is somewhat desirous of engaging in the sexual interaction, despite an explicit statement to the contrary, underscores the subjects' use of other cues to make inferences about this cue, without adequately investigating what those other cues are.

Vignette research, in asking subjects to respond with reference to the characters in the vignette rather than themselves, may also obscure important

differences between subjects' evaluations of others' behaviour in a particular situation and what their own behaviour would be in that situation. Koss (1985) found that women who had had experiences that met the legal definition of rape but did not believe that they had been raped were more likely to have been assaulted within a close personal relationship that had involved some amount of consensual sexual intimacy than were women who acknowledged that they had been raped. Koss (1985) notes, however, that this finding is inconsistent with attributional studies of rape that have used vignettes, in which the relationship between victim and assailant has been found not to influence subjects' perceptions of whether a scenario was rape. Although not all vignette studies have found the prior relationship to be unimportant,[11] this finding does suggest that the results of vignette studies may not directly reflect people's own behaviour. Koss (1985) argues that this difference is consistent with a considerable body of literature which supports differential attribution according to whether the subject responds as an actor or an observer. Other factors operative in a coercive sexual situation may also be subject to differential attribution, and hence results from vignette studies may not be indicative of what the subjects' own behaviour would be in that situation.

Alternative Methodologies

A smaller number of studies of rape have used other methods. One researcher asked her subjects to write a description of a "typical rape" and a "typical seduction" (Ryan, 1988, p. 239). Rose and Frieze (1989) asked their subjects to list the actions involved in preparing for and going on a first date, from which they

extracted what they called "scripts for a first date" (p. 258). Other researchers have had their subjects write essays describing how they would behave in a particular sexual situation to achieve a desired outcome (Perper & Weis, 1987). Byers and Lewis (1988) asked their subjects to record on a series of questionnaires the sexual disagreements that occurred over four weeks of dating. Byers (1988) asked her female subjects to roleplay their refusals of a date's unwanted sexual advances; her male subjects roleplayed their responses to their date's refusals.

The use of essays or scripts has a number of advantages over more usual methods of inquiry. Researchers have found that subjects do produce essays which are long enough to be interpretable and which do provide useful data (e.g., the mean of the rape scripts was 164.95 words and that of the seduction scripts 155.39 words [Ryan, 1988]; essays that described how the subject would initiate a sexual encounter ranged from "one or two tense phrases to highly detailed two and three page essays" [Perper & Weis, 1987, 462] – enough data were provided by the subjects to allow the emergence of 29 essay themes.)

Importantly, allowing the participants to express their experiences through essays does not constrain their responses to those that have been envisioned by the researcher. Some researchers appear to be unable to understand that their subjects might behave in a particular way even after the subjects have told them that they would do so. In their study of proceptivity, Perper and Weis (1987) concluded that a woman may take the sexual initiative through her use of proceptive behaviours, that the sexual initiative then passes to the man, and that sex subsequently takes place. However, less than one-fifth of their subjects wrote essays in which the woman's use of proceptive behaviours was followed by the

man's assumption of the sexual initiative (see pp. 40-41 above). In this study, the use of the essay allowed the subjects to say that they would behave in a way that the researchers could not envision (even after many of their subjects told them that they would in fact behave this way). Thus, a less open methodology (e.g., forced-choice questions) would not have allowed these subjects to respond in the way which reflected their experience.

Essays also allow the participants to define how many variables they find to be important. A researcher typically imposes an arbitrary limit on the number of variables in the study, often based on the amount of complexity incorporated into the research and the number of subjects used. Subjects' essays may quite easily incorporate enough variables that in a more traditional research project would require years of work. The variables are also ordered by the subject, in the way that she or he finds most meaningful, rather than by the researcher.

As a methodology, essays are perhaps most similar to the interview. The essay can be considered to be an interview that consists of a single question. Thus, an essay, much more than an interview, consists of only the information that a subject sees as relevant to the question and chooses to share. The researcher, then, has much less opportunity to influence the data produced by a subject. Psychological distance is also maintained by the response being written by the subject rather than given orally to the interview. Koss and Gidycz (1985), in the validation of their Sexual Experiences Survey, a measure of coercive sexual behaviour, found that "a substantial number of men" were not willing to admit to engaging in sexually coercive behaviour in an interview, although they had done so on the self-report survey (p. 423). Thus, the essay appears to be less restrictive of subjects'

responses, especially those of men, than an interview would be. However, the researcher who uses essays does lose the opportunity to clarify both the questions the subject is being asked and the subject's responses.

Description of the Present Study

The present study was designed to investigate, in more detail than has been done in previous research, participants' perceptions of dates on which there is a disagreement about the level of sexual intimacy desired, i.e., dates on which coercive sex may occur. Of particular interest were the cues that participants use in order to make choices about their own behaviour. Because the essay format was expected to yield a large amount of the type of information sought, and because within an essay participants are relatively free to respond as they wish, a series of essays was chosen as the methodology of the present study.

The essay questions encompassed both projective questions (of the form "imagine you are in this situation -- what would you do?") and one question which asked the participants to recall sexually coercive experiences that they may have had. Studies which have used projective questions have assumed that the resulting data accurately reflect how the subjects would behave in the situation in question (Lewin, 1985; Perper & Weis, 1987). Laplante, McCormick, and Brannigan (1980) note that this assumption may not be valid (or, more precisely, it may be moot) if for some reason the subject simply is never in that particular situation. For example, in these researchers' investigation of the strategies that college students use to initiate sex and to avoid sex, they found that women use strategies to avoid sex, whereas men use strategies to initiate sex. Previous

studies, such as McCormick (1979) and McCormick (1976), had demonstrated that, in response to a projective question, both women and men described using similar strategies to initiate sex and to avoid sex. Thus, the earlier studies suggest that women's and men's behaviours are quite similar in similar situations, but the last study provides some evidence that women and men are seldom in similar situations when dating.

Some support for the assumption that a participant's response to a projective question provides a good indication of how she or he would behave in that situation is provided by the projective hypothesis of clinical psychology. The projective hypothesis, which underlies much of personality assessment, may be defined as "the premise that people reveal something of their own personality when confronted with an ambiguous social situation ... [or] stimulus situation" (Exner, 1986, p. 15). Many projective personality tests ask the subject to respond to stimuli that involve other people or non-human objects, yet projection still occurs. However, interpretation of projective responses is required and caution must be exercised about taking the responses too literally. Projective questions may thus obtain the information that is sought by the researcher in a fashion which is less difficult for the subjects (as clients may disclose information on a projective personality test which they could not otherwise). Because projective questions were combined with a question that asks participants to describe an experience of coercive sex, it was expected that an analysis could be performed of the extent to which participants' answers to the projective questions are descriptive of their actual behaviour. In this way, a preliminary investigation into the validity of projective questions in studies such as this one was completed.

Participants were first asked to fill out a short background questionnaire and the Sexual Experiences Survey (SES) (Koss & Oros, 1982; modified by Koss & Gidycz, 1985). The background questionnaire asked participants basic demographic information and their year and field of study. The SES asks participants about their experiences with coercive sexual activity (including but not limited to vaginal intercourse) in which the man is the perpetrator and the woman the victim.

Each participant was then asked to write three essays. The first was in response to a dating scenario in which the man made a sexual advance which the woman did not want to accept. Eventually, intercourse occurred. In the second scenario, it was the woman who made the sexual advance which the man declined. The third scenario varied with the experiences of the participant. If the participant had a coercive sexual experience (in which the man is the aggressor and the woman the victim), she or he was asked to describe it. If the participant had no such experience, she or he was asked to describe a typical date rape.

Women's responses to the first essay provided information about women's perceptions of being coerced into sexual activity by a man. Although as expected, some participants resolved the disagreement with a change of heart by the initially reluctant character, I will label all of the episodes as "coercion" for convenience, because many of the responses included sex which is unarguably coercive. The extent to which a change of heart can be free and uncoerced in the scenario as it has been constructed, and particularly as the majority of the women wrote it, is, moreover, debatable. Men's responses to the first essay provided information about their perceptions of coercing a woman into sexual activity.

The second essay asked women to imagine themselves as initiating an unwanted sexual advance; men were asked to imagine themselves as recipients of a sexual advance which they did not choose to accept. As discussed above (pp. 42-45), there is some evidence that women do aggress sexually against men, although they do so much less frequently and much less seriously than men use sexual aggression against women. I did not, however, hypothesize that participants would give similar responses in the man-as-victim and the woman-as-victim essays. On the contrary, I was interested in the differences between these essays. For example, I expected that an initially unwilling date would become a willing and enthusiastic sexual partner more often in the man-as-victim essays, reflecting the common stereotype that a man would be glad of any (heterosexual) sex which he is offered. I was also interested in the differences between men and women in the extent to and ways which they differentiate women-as-perpetrators and men-as-perpetrators. Feminists who have written about the legal system's failure to handle the crime of rape adequately have argued that the (male) justice system and its (overwhelmingly male) players seem incapable of understanding the experiences of a female victim of sexual assault because of their blindness to the way her gender influences her perceptions and her reality (Boyle, 1984; Estrich, 1987). For example, an "objective" determination of whether the perpetrator was using force may be argued to depend to a great extent on the sex of the person making the determination. The victim, because she is female (and, hence, believes herself to be less strong than the perpetrator, less knowledgeable about and experienced in fighting, realizes that she is smaller and less muscular, etc.), may perceive the level of force used to be much higher than does a man, as he pictures

himself in her situation without many of the personal and situational factors that make her feel so vulnerable. If gender has significant effects on such perceptions, then women would be expected to differentiate between women-as-perpetrators and men-as-perpetrators more than do men, because women are more likely to understand the differences between women's perspective and men's than are men.

The third essay for those who have had one or more experiences in which a man sexually coerces a woman provided direct information about the content of the worst such experience; the examination of the information in these responses provided considerable information about the participants' own experiences of coercive sex. Responses were also contrasted with the responses to the first two projective questions. Significant differences might have been due in part to discrepancies between participants' perceptions of, or stereotypes of, coercive sex and their own experiences.

For participants who have not had or did not want to disclose personal experiences with coercive sex, the third question did not provide a check on the validity of their responses to the projective questions. Their third essay was chosen to investigate different issues. (This essay is referred to as the fourth essay question for convenience.) In part, I was interested in the consistency with which participants are able to define a "typical" date rape and the extent to which their descriptions reflect the understandings uncovered by research as opposed to rape myths. Responses to this question were also compared with responses to the projective scenarios and served to investigate the extent to which participants differentiated between rape and coercive sex.

Hypotheses

1. That some sex differences in the sexual interest attributed to their partner would be evident in participants' responses, as a result of the various factors identified in the literature.

2. That men and women would use at least some different behavioural cues to convey or infer sexual desire, sexual consent and lack of consent. It was expected that women would emit cues which they meant to indicate nonconsent but men did not perceive these cues as communicating nonconsent and that men would perceive cues as indicating sexual desire which women did not mean that way.

3. That men's responses would contain much less overt conflict than would women's and, moreover, that men and women would use some different coercive cues, so that women would understand as coercive some behaviours that men do not intend that way.

4. That men's responses to questions one and two would be more similar than would women's responses because men were expected to be less aware of the power that men have simply because they are men in a patriarchal society.

5. That sexually victimized women would be more similar in their responses to questions one and three than those less sexually victimized. Question one set up a situation in which there was some potential for sexual conflict or sexual coercion. Women who had not been sexually victimized were expected to be more likely to ascribe to the stereotypic beliefs that sexual coercion is less frequent and less damaging than is the case.

6. That men and women would generate different descriptions of date rape. It was expected that men would be likely to identify with the aggressor (whom I

assumed that the participants would define as a man) and women with the victim, and thus the two sexes were expected to describe scenarios that differed in attribution of responsibility, amount of coercion involved, and how upsetting it was for the woman at the time and in consequence.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Participants

Participants were recruited from three introductory psychology classes, using the script detailed in Appendix A. Twenty women and 20 men participated, all of whom were heterosexual. The mean age of participants was 22.3 years, 22.1 years for women and 22.5 for men. Each participant received three experimental credit points.

Materials

Background questionnaire. A brief background questionnaire was administered to participants. Basic demographic information was collected, as well as participants' years of and field of study. The background questionnaire is detailed in Appendix C.

The Sexual Experiences Survey. The Sexual Experiences Survey (SES) (Koss & Oros, 1982; modified Koss & Gidycz, 1985) was then administered to participants. The SES measures heterosexual sexual victimization in which a woman is the victim and a man the perpetrator (i.e., women are asked if they have been victimized sexually by a man and men are asked whether they have perpetrated sexual victimization against a woman). Ten coercive sexual experiences are described -- three involve sex play (kissing, petting, or fondling),

four sexual intercourse, two attempted sexual intercourse, and one anal or oral penetration or penetration by objects. The experiences are also differentiated by the degree of coercion involved, from "continual arguments and pressure" to "abuse of authority" to "threats and physical force." The measure uses a yes-no format to ask whether the participant has had each of the 10 experiences. For each coercive experience that the participant acknowledges having had or perpetrated, she or he is asked how many times (1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 or more) and how many times in the last year (0, 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 or more) it has occurred. Participants are then asked whether they have voluntarily engaged in heterosexual sex play and whether they have voluntarily engaged in heterosexual intercourse.

That the SES describes, rather than labels, experiences of sexual victimization is one of its greatest advantages. Both women and men report, for example, experiences that meet the definition of rape much more frequently than they report that they have been raped or have raped (see p. 11 above). Koss and Gidycz (1985) investigated the reliability and validity of the SES using samples of U.S. college students. College students were chosen because the major application of the SES has been its use in surveys of college students. Test-retest reliability for the SES over a period of one week was .93. The internal consistency of the items of the SES (Cronbach's alpha) was .74 for women and .89 for men. The validity of the SES was assessed by the administration of a standardized interview about sexual victimization. Correlation coefficients between subjects' level of victimization based on self-report on the SES and level of victimization based on interview data were .73 for women ($p < .001$) and .61 for men ($p < .001$). The major discrepancy between SES responses and interview responses was the result of men who refused

to admit perpetrating any sexual coercion during the interview, but acknowledged doing so on the SES (Koss & Gidycz, 1985).

Essay questions. The essay questions were constructed by the researcher to be specific enough that many of the participants would address the issue of coercive sex without narrowing their freedom to respond unnecessarily. The first essay question for women was:

> I'd like you to imagine that you are out on a date. The two of you have had a really enjoyable dinner and the conversation has been terrific. Now, you've both come back to your date's place and are continuing to talk. You're both feeling close to one another and are happy to be together. Your date makes a sexual advance, which you refuse. Later on, however, you and your date have intercourse.
>
> I'd like you to imagine and then describe this scene fully. First, just close your eyes and take some time to imagine the scene in as much detail as you can. Then, please write out the scene as you have imagined it, starting from just before your date's first sexual advance. You have this page and the next available for your description. If you need more space, you may also use the backs of these pages.

The participants were then asked a series of more specific questions to ensure that they addressed the thoughts and feelings of both of the characters in their story. These questions were presented to the women as follows:

> Listed below are a number of specific questions that you may have already answered. If you did not answer any of the following questions in the response you wrote on the previous pages, please do so now in the space

after each question. You may use the space on the back of this page if you wish.

What were you and your date talking about just prior to his sexual advance?

Describe the sexual advance, that is, what precisely does your date do?

How does your date feel as he makes the sexual advance?

What is he thinking?

How do you refuse his advance? What do you say and what do you do?

How do you feel?

What are you thinking?

What happened between the initial refusal and intercourse?

The first essay question for men was:

I'd like you to imagine that you are out on a date. The two of you have had a really enjoyable dinner and the conversation has been terrific. Now, you've both come back to your place and are continuing to talk. You're both feeling close to one another and are happy to be together. You make a sexual advance, which your date refuses. Later on, however, you and your date have intercourse.

I'd like you to imagine and then describe this scene fully. First, just close your eyes and take some time to imagine the scene in as much detail as you can. Then, please write out the scene as you have imagined it, starting from just before your first sexual advance. You have this page and the next available for your description. If you need more space, you may also use the backs of these pages.

The men were then asked the same specific questions as the women, appropriately adjusted to be consistent with the different point of view.

The second essay question reversed the sexes of the protagonists (women's question in text, men's in square brackets):

> Now I'd like you to imagine the same scenario, except this time it is you [your date] who makes the sexual advance and your date [you] who refuses it. Eventually, intercourse does occur. Again, I would like you to describe what happens as fully as possible. Please first imagine the scene as carefully as you can, and then write out a detailed description.

Again this question was followed by the series of specific questions detailed above.

The third essay question asked participants to describe their worst experience with coercive sex if they had had such an experience. For women, this question was:

> I'd like you to think back to experiences that you might have had where there was a disagreement because a date or a friend wanted more sexual activity, or more intimate sexual activity, than you did. If you have not had such an experience, please skip to question 4. If you have had one or more such experiences, I would like you to describe what happened during the WORST such experience. Please be explicit about what you thought, said, and did, what the other person said and did, how the situation started, what happened during it, and how it ended. Looking back on the experience, how do you feel about it now and what kind of an impact did it have on your life?

For men, the third question was:

> When you are initiating a sexual encounter, it can be difficult to be certain about what your partner's expectations are. In retrospect, do you feel that you have ever persuaded a date or a friend to participate in sexual activity which she may not have fully desired? [If so,] I would like you to describe what happened during the experience in which there was the MOST difference in opinion about sexual activity between you and your date or friend. Please be explicit about what you thought, said, and did, what the other person said and did, how the situation started, what happened during it, and how it ended. Looking back on the experience, how do you feel about it now and what kind of an impact did it have upon your life?

The fourth essay question was asked only of participants who had not had a sexually coercive experience that they were willing to disclose. It was identical for women and for men:

> Recently, we have been hearing the term "date rape" a lot. Sometimes people have different ideas about what date rape is. I would like you to describe in as much detail as possible what you think a typical date rape is.

Procedure

Participants were recruited from three introductory psychology classes by the researcher, who used the script detailed in Appendix A. Students were asked to volunteer only if they had some experience with heterosexual relationships, although extensive sexual experience was not necessary and their current sexual

orientation/preference was immaterial. It ws stressed that students should not volunteer if they felt that they might be uncomfortable participating in the study. In each class, at least one-third of the students chose not to volunteer. Forty participants, 20 women and 20 men, were run in small, single-sex groups of between one and four participants. Because the study asked participants to think and write about heterosexual sexual encounters (and in the debriefing we discussed coercive heterosexual encounters), it was believed that some subjects would be more comfortable doing so in single-sex groups. For the same reason, an experimenter of the same sex as the group was used. Informed consent was sought using the form in Appendix B.

First the background questionnaire and the SES was administered to participants, followed by a package consisting of the four essay questions. The directions for the essay questions made it clear that participants were to answer either question 3 or question 4, but not both.[12] Each participant was asked to choose a four-digit number to identify her or his questionnaires and essay responses, so that they could be matched. Debriefing was elaborate, following the outline given in Appendix E. Participants were encouraged to discuss their responses to the study. As part of debriefing, written information about university and community resources was provided. Participants were encouraged to contact the researcher at a later date, if they wished, to discuss the results of the study, although none did. Results will also be posted on the bulletin board of the Department of Psychology. Participants' essays were transcribed onto computer by the researcher within a week of data collection and then destroyed to preserve confidentiality.

Data Analysis

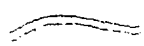
Of those researchers who have used methodologies similar to that of the present study, most appear to have used no systematic method for analysing the data collected (e.g., Ryan, 1988; Rose & Frieze, 1989; McCormick, 1979). For example, Ryan (1988) writes that "both sets of scripts were explored for commonalities and 20 elements emerged" (p. 239). Rose and Frieze (1989) described their analysis of the first-date scripts that their subjects had written by saying that "a total of 104 different actions were identified from the essays" (p. 263).

Other researchers have described their data analysis as being grounded in content analysis (Perper & Weis, 1987; Lewin, 1985). Content analysis involves "breaking a text up into countable units," classifying these units, and then performing quantitative analyses to derive conclusions about a text (Carney, 1972, p. 167). A countable unit may be a word or a phrase, a theme or conceptual entity, a character, or a set of interactions. A theme may be "an incident, thought-process, or viewpoint which can be seen as a coherent whole" (Carney, 1972, p. 159). Weber (1990) notes that a theme is a unit of text which may contain four interrelated elements -- a perceiver, the perceived or agent of the action, the action, and the target of the action -- although all four need not be present.

Both Lewin (1985) and Perper and Weis (1987) state that they used content analysis to extract themes from their data. However, content analysis has little to say about how themes should be extracted or how categories (the groupings of related themes) should be formed. Carney (1972) states that "categories can be formed straightforwardly, by taking the text at its surface meaning, or they can be

formed by inference, by 'reading between the lines' when the text is disingenuous" (p. 40). He further points out that "there are no rules for forming categories," nor, apparently, for extracting themes (Carney, 1972, p. 40). Thus, Lewin (1985) and Perper and Weis (1987) presumably also used the intuitive approach which appears to be characteristic in this area of research.

In analysing my data, I wished to focus on the cues that participants used in their essays to imply or infer sexual interest (or lack thereof) and danger (violence, threat, or force). Of particular interest was whether such cues varied in a meaningful way with the sex of the respondent, the sex of the character in the response who used that cue, and the particular essay in which the cue was used. To minimize the possibility of significant data being overlooked, both my co-experimenter and I, working independently, used intuition to derive cues from the essays. All cues that either or both of us extracted were used as data.[13] Patterns among the participants's use of cues, including sex differences, provided the basis for drawing conclusions from the data analysis.



CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

As is often the case in qualitative analysis (Hollway, 1989), a number of issues related to coercive sex were raised by the responses of the participants besides those which were the focus of the study. These issues have to do with the societal context within which both women and men wrote their stories. Below, I first present the background data given by the participants, including their experiences with coercive sex. Then I discuss the heterosocial context within which the participants' stories about coercive sex were set. An understanding of this context is crucial for analyzing the data generated by the participants; in particular, the participants' assumptions about and experiences with heterosexuality seriously limit the conclusions that can be drawn from their responses to question 2, in which participants were asked to write a story in which the woman makes an advance and the man refuses it.

As discussed previously (pp. 28-39), the research literature suggests that five kinds of sex differences in perceptions of the other sex and of dating situations may provide at least a partial explanation for the occurrence of coercive sex. Below I analyze in detail the support provided by the present study for these sex differences and their impact on sexual interactions. I further postulated that at a more detailed level of analysis, there would be differences in the cues used by women and men to communicate sexual desire, sexual consent, and lack of sexual

consent. In addition, I believed I might find behaviours on the part of the man which the woman interpreted as coercive, although he did not intend them to be so. Thus, I present the specific behavioural cues used by women and by men, as demonstrated in their stories, to convey and infer sexual consent and lack of sexual consent, as well as the coercive behaviours used by the men and those understood by the women.

Finally, I compare the women's stories with the men's, those of more sexually-victimized women with those of less sexually-victimized, and the depictions of date rape generated by each sex.

Background and Demographic Information

The 40 students who participated in the present study were a diverse group. Their mean age was 22.3 years (s.d.=5.5 years, range 19-49 years). Although a majority of the students were of European descent (58%), a number of other ethnic or racial backgrounds were also represented, particularly Eastern European. Equal numbers of participants described themselves as Catholic, as members of a Protestant denomination or Christians, and as having no religion or being atheists. The participants lived in a variety of different settings, including with their parents (40%), in residence (20%), and living off-campus, alone (8%), with roommates (18%), or with partners and/or children (15%).

In some ways the participants were unrepresentative of University of Windsor students. Most students were in their first year (70%). A disproportionate number of students were studying social sciences or social work (68%).

The subsamples of women and men were similar in many respects: their mean

age, the proportion of part-time students (20% of both men and women), their religious backgrounds, their ethnic backgrounds, their current religious practice, and the proportion currently in intimate relationships (60% of both men and women). The subsamples varied in their fields of study, consistent with the distribution of women and men in the various fields. All of the participants with children were women.

Participants' Experiences with Sexual Coercion

Women. For female participants, two measures of being coerced into sexual activity were used. One of these measures was the Sexual Experiences Survey (SES); the other was an essay question that asked participants to describe their worst experience with coercive sex if they had had such an experience. The two measures gave somewhat different results.

Presented in Table 1 are the responses given by the women to the SES, which describes ten sexually coercive behaviours and asks whether a woman has ever been a victim of each of them. For each sexually coercive behaviour, the woman is asked whether she has encountered that behaviour 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 or more times. For each behaviour, Table 1 presents the number of women who said that they had been coerced into that behaviour and the total number of episodes they reported. Only four women (20%) reported on the SES that they had had no coercive sexual experiences. Seven women reported that they had experienced sexual intercourse, or oral or anal intercourse or insertion of objects into their vagina, because of a man's use of or threat of force or because he gave them alcohol or drugs.

Table 1

Women's Responses to the Sexual Experiences Survey

Item	No. Women Reporting	Percentage Reporting	Total No. Incidents
1. sex play verbal pressure	11	55	33
2. sex play authority	2	10	7
3. sex play force or threat	6	30	10
4. attempted intercourse force or threat	4	20	7
5. attempted intercourse alcohol or drugs	3	15	5
6. sex acts force or threat	2	10	3
7. intercourse verbal pressure	12	60	41
8. intercourse authority	0	0	0
9. intercourse alcohol or drugs	4	20	7
10. intercourse force or threat	2	10	2
11. willing sex contact	20	100	--
12. willing sex heterosexual intercourse	19	95	--

Women were also asked in q 3 whether they had had a disagreement when a date or a friend wanted more sexual activity or more intimate sexual activity than they did. If so, the question went on to ask the woman to describe that worst such disagreement. 16 (80%) women wrote responses to q 3, of which 15 describe the woman being coerced into some sexual activity. The men's coercions ranged from arguing, to just doing what they wanted to despite the woman's protests, to force. The unwanted sexual activities included a kiss, fondling, and vaginal intercourse. The man involved was always known to the woman, most often a boyfriend or someone whom she had hoped would become a boyfriend.

The two measures of sexual coercion did not give identical results. Two women replied negatively to all the questions about coercion on the SES and also did not write a response to q 3. Two women admitted to a single coercive sexual experience on the SES but did not answer q 3. (The instructions had specified that participants should feel free not to answer any question if they preferred not to.) Two women wrote a response to q 3 but denied all coercive sexual experiences on the SES. These women's stories suggest that they did not find the man's behaviour sufficiently coercive to justify an affirmative response on any of the SES items. Not only would I argue that both experiences were coercive, but one of them was quite damaging to the woman involved. This woman wrote that as a result of this experience, "i[t] now takes a lot for me to trust anyone -- in any circumstances -- anymore" (8304f[14]). Four other women described what is objectively a less coercive sexual victimization in q 3 than they had acknowledged on the SES.[15] These discrepancies highlight the difficulty of finding an adequate measure of sexual victimization; in particular, they demonstrate that the impact of

sexual victimization is not a logical outcome of the sexual activity involved and the amount of coercion used. Considering both measures of sexual coercion, 90% of the female participants reported having experienced coercive sexual activity.

Men. For male participants, two measures of engaging in sexually coercive behaviour towards women were used. One of these measures was the men's version of the Sexual Experiences Survey (SES); the other was an essay question. Again, the two measures gave somewhat different results.

The men's version of the SES asks men to reveal whether they have ever coerced a woman into sexual activities. The male participants' responses to the SES are presented in Table 2. Five (25%) of the 20 men reported engaging in sexual coercion of women on the SES. Each man reported between 3 and 10 incidents, although the format of the SES presumably limited the number of incidents reported, as 3 men reported engaging in at least one behaviour 5 or more times.

Men were also asked whether in retrospect they had ever persuaded a date or a friend to participate in sexual activity that she may have not fully desired. If so, they were asked in q 3 to describe the experience in which the difference in opinion was greatest. Five men (25%) wrote that they had had such a disagreement. Three of the men both acknowledged coercive behaviour on the SES and wrote a response to q 3. Two men acknowledged coercive behaviour on the SES, one 3 incidents and one 5 or more, but did not write a response to q 3. Two men wrote an answer to q 3 but did not endorse any of the SES items. One of these stories involved the man trying and failing to coerce his girlfriend into removing his clothing as a prelude to sex (0600m). After a couple of attempts, he realized that

Table 2

Men's Responses to the Sexual Experiences Survey

Item	No. Men Reporting	Percentage Reporting	Total No. Incidents
1. sex play verbal pressure	4	20	15
2. sex play authority	0	0	0
3. sex play force or threat	1	5	1
4. attempted intercourse force or threat	1	5	2
5. attempted intercourse alcohol or drugs	0	0	0
6. sex acts force or threat	0	0	0
7. intercourse verbal pressure	3	15	11
8. intercourse authority	0	0	0
9. intercourse alcohol or drugs	0	0	0
10. intercourse force or threat	0	0	0
11. willing sex contact	19	95	–
12. willing sex heterosexual intercourse	18	90	–

he was in the wrong and apologized. Another man's response to q 3 involved a casual sexual partner who was unsure about whether she wanted sex on this particular occasion. After discussion with the man, she agreed to engage in sex, but as the sex was less passionate than usual, he concluded that "her heart wasn't in it as much" (2618m). Thus, on the two measures of sexual coercion, six (30%) men reported some clearly coercive sexual behaviour.

Comparing participants' responses with previous research. The male participants reported perpetrating significantly less sexually coercive behaviour than the women reported experiencing; six (30%) of the men reported being a perpetrator, while 18 (90%) of the women reported being a victim on at least one of the two measures. This sex difference is statistically significant (X^2=6, p<.02) and is consistent with previous research (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1993; Koss et al., 1987).

To examine whether the participants' experience with sexual coercion were unusual, their responses were compared with the results of the best study of sexual coercion among Canadian postsecondary students conducted to date. DeKeseredy and Kelly (1993) surveyed 3,142 students at randomly chosen universities and colleges across Canada. Chi square tests were used to compare the prevalence and incidence of sexual coercion reported by participants in the present study with the prevalence and the incidence reported by DeKeseredy and Kelly's (1993) participants. Men in the present study did not differ significantly in their reported sexual coercion from DeKeseredy and Kelly's (1993) male participants (comparing prevalence, X^2=6.86, p=n.s.; comparing incidence, X^2=1.94, p=n.s.). Women's reported incidence of sexual coercion did not differ from DeKeseredy and Kelly's (1993) incidence (X^2=5.85, p=n.s.). Women's reported

prevalence of sexual coercion, however, was significantly higher than was the prevalence found by DeKeseredy and Kelly (1993; X^2=36.98, $p<.001$). Furthermore, the prevalence of sexual coercion reported by women in the present study was also significantly higher than that reported by Koss et al. (1987; X^2=20.78, $p<.02$). Thus, the male participants appear to be typical in their experiences with sexual coercion, while the women may have more experience with sexual victimization than is usual.

The Influence of the Heterosocial Context on Coercive Sex

The participants' stories make it clear that for most of them, the man makes the first move in a sexual encounter and continues to exert more control over it than does the woman. This is demonstrated vividly in participants' responses to q 2. It was expected that women, and to a lesser extent men, would differentiate between q 1, in which the man was to make an advance and then refused by the woman, and q 2, in which the woman was to make the advance and be refused by the man. However, many of the participants had some difficulty answering q 2 at all. Some were unable to answer the question without changing the parameters of the question -- they had not been out on a date or they had returned to her home rather than his. This difficulty is clearly evident in a number of stories. One woman wrote a story in which as she was making an advance she was asking herself "why am I doing this?" (4000f); another woman thought "what am I doing!?" (7110f). Some of the men went through bizarre narrative contortions in order to create a situation in which the woman advanced and they refused. One man wrote a story in which he got into a fight at a bar, had to have seven stitches, and

returned to his girlfriend's house dead drunk and feeling horrible; only in such circumstances, it was implied, would he refuse a sexual advance. Another man wrote a q 2 story in which he refused to have sex without birth control, although none was evident in his q 1 story. Two men stated that they simply could not imagine a situation in which they would refuse an advance by a woman. Both women and men wrote stories in which the man is made nervous by the woman's advance. One man wrote that although he felt horny as he refused her advance, he did not show it. He was asking himself "why does this women [sic] want me so bad for?" (1973m).

Because the q 2 data appears to have considerably less relevance to the participants' lives, the analysis that follows will focus on q 1. Data generated by participants' responses to q 2 will, however, be addressed where relevant.

The participants agreed that an initial advance is almost always physical. In 19 (95%) of the men's 20 q 1 stories and 16 (80%) of the women's, the first advance by the man was some sort of physical move. Moreover, in a majority of the stories (55% of the women's stories and 60% of the men's), the man continued to behave in an increasingly sexual intimate way, until the woman made an overt refusal. Typically, the man leaned toward the woman, kissed her, fondled her breasts, reached for her genitals, and so on, moving as far along as he could in this sequence until the woman explicitly refused. Thus, in both women's and men's stories, almost all of the female characters experienced unsolicited sexual contact, which escalated into sexual contact that was unwanted.

Some of the sexual coerciveness of men, as experienced by women, results not only from what a particular man says or does, but also from the women's

knowledge and experience of heterosexual relationships. In nine (45%) of the women's question 1 stories, some reference is made to being afraid of what might happen either were she not to give in to sex or were she in this situation with another (less nice) man. An additional three (15%) women described themselves as feeling nervous or intimidated by their date's sexual advance or sexual interest in them. One woman observed that she gave into sex "because the pressure from him was way too much ... maybe I thought that if I gave in, it would prevent something scarey [sic] from happening" (4320f). This disturbing comment suggests that she feared violent rape or another type of physical assault, although she did not describe any overtly threatening words or behaviours. Another woman wrote "by the way he has enveloped me I feel threatened" (1050f, her emphasis). Other women said that "I was just lucky it didn't get out of hand" (4573f) and "I would see a sexual advance early in a relationship as threatening and it would most likely scare me quite a bit" (3012f). It is interesting that the women did not feel a need to explain or justify such assertions. Although several of these women did not discuss the extent to which this fear influenced their behaviour, it is unlikely that it was irrelevant. The influence of this knowledge was explicitly discussed in the response of one of the women to q 3. Describing the result of being sexually assaulted by a date, she wrote that she now gives in more easily to men's sexual requests, because she is afraid that the man may turn out to be like her assailant (4320f).

The balance involved in developing an emotional relationship while engaging in some amount of sexual interaction seems to have been particularly daunting for women. Five women (25%) identified as a crucial issue knowing whether the man

is in fact interested in a relationship or whether he is just looking for sex. Despite the media image of the woman who is just as interested in sex for its own sake as is a man, the women demonstrated in their stories a lack of interest in casual or uncommitted sex. Only one woman wrote a q 1 story involving consensual sex in which no reference was made to an intimate relationship or the emotions associated with an intimate relationship. A woman who spent considerable time wondering whether her date was only interested in sex decided that she should quit analyzing everything. She then told herself "quit driving yourself nuts and get what you can (sexually, enjoyably) from this guy who knows maybe is a nice guy ha ha" (4000f). She felt "horrible" later and hoped that he would call her again so that she would feel less trashy. This woman understands that she should be able to enjoy casual sex, but also knows that she does not. Another woman wrote:

> then I guess we have sex and maybe the sex is okay, maybe I do even have an orgasm, but more likely I'm already thinking too hard, wishing it was over, wondering what I ever saw in this creep in the first place -- all men are the same.... I will always wonder why I did that to myself (1050f).

Men were somewhat more likely to describe female characters who were interested in casual sex. Of the men's q 1 stories, four (20%) involved a female character consenting to casual sex. However, other men's stories involved trying to convince the woman that the sex was not casual, that it was "a good beginning" (1408m) or "the one thing that means the most to both of us" (6433m). In five (25%) of the men's q 1 stories, a significant contribution to the change between the woman's refusal and her eventual consent was that the couple talked and got closer. These men seemed to be suggesting that for the women, their newfound

closeness differentiated the sex from casual sex.

The women's disinterest in casual sex was also evident in q 2. In 12 of the women's stories, the woman's advance was described as a result of their affection or love for the man (i.e., they were hoping to begin a relationship) or was made within the context of an ongoing relationship. In contrast, four of the men's female characters pressured the man for sex although nothing suggested the possibility that there could or would be a relationship. One man's female protagonist sought sex because "I'm horny, he'll do" (4773m). Only five of the men's q 2 stories made reference to a possible relationship. A statistical comparison of the differences between women and men in their views of the relationship between sex and intimacy could not be performed, because of the small number of elements in the cells. The data, however, suggest that for women sex is typically seen as a part of an intimate relationship, whereas for men sex may be desirable outside of an intimate relationship. Among the men's stories, sex itself was also very important to some of the female characters -- the fictional girlfriend of the man who was beaten up in the bar pressed him for sex and then threw him out when he would not deliver (0600m). He returned, having nowhere to go, and she pressed him again for sex. This time he reluctantly complied. The man described her as "horny (to the power 10)" (0600m). In another man's story, the woman leapt on him, saying "I can't get enough, I'm a nimpho [sic]" (4869m). None of the women wrote stories in which sex was this important to the female character.

Whether her date is interested in her or in sex is a judgement that the woman feels she must make very much on her own -- as one woman wrote "all I could wonder is what he was thinking, if he was just using me or if he really liked me. I

knew he would tell me he liked me, whether it was a lie or not" (4320f). One of the men's stories reflects such a deception -- when he was arguing her into having sex, he said that he told her that "this is a good beginning for us" (1408m). His story ended with them "talk[ing] about what it meant and what is next -- general avoidance."

Participants' stories also exhibited questions of timing of sexual activity. The stories generally reflected a progression of intimacy, with the men as well as the women describing a hierarchy of sexual acts, through which the couple progresses. Thirteen (65%) of the 20 women's stories stressed the woman's role of being the person who must decide what is appropriate, saying that *this* is okay, but *that* is "where [she] draws the line" (4573f), or saying explicitly that it is too early in the relationship for this particular activity (and all those that are more sexually intimate), for example, "this is about where I think things should stop, seeing as how we don't know one another too well" (0823f, her emphasis). Moreover, 10 (50%) of the men's q 1 stories contained some kind of acknowledgement that the female character might have wished or did wish to proceed slowly through the hierarchy of sexual activities. Thus, both men and women agree that women may wish to begin a sexual involvement slowly; the difference in the number of women's stories and the number of men's stories that acknowledged this was not statistically significant (X^2=.39, p=n.s.).

Both men and women, however, also made reference to what they saw as the natural difficulty of interfering with the progression from kissing to intercourse. In some cases, this difficulty seemed to have to do with the man's possibly overwhelming desire to continue, as in this woman's observation that "a kiss would

be great, but ... I don't want to get in over my head" (4573f). In others, the progression was apparently mutual, one thing led to another for both of them.

Interestingly, in eight (40%) of the men's q 2 stories, the man's refusal of the woman's sexual advance took the form of saying that it was too early in the relationship for sex. Three of these protestations were in fact deceptive refusals (in one case, the man figured that his date would be hornier after they had had another drink, in the second, he felt distrustful because she had made the advance, so he was stalling for time in which to decide what to do, and in the third, he had not yet decided "if its [sic] worth it" [4773m]). However, even those men whose male characters were apparently sincere in their assertion that they would prefer to wait described a somewhat different experience than did women. In contrast to the women, the men most often described neither the sex itself, which they had not wanted, nor its outcome as being negative. The men appear not to have felt the same lack of options as did the women; the implication was that they could continue refusing or end the date, but chose instead to give in. One man wrote that he "say[s] what the hell, get it over with but make sure it's done my way" (1408m). In another man's story, after he got a bit drunk, "I don't have the will power to refuse her" (7352m). Another man wrote that "my hormones took over" (1000m). One man asked himself "how do I get out of this without a scene?" (1408m), whereas women described themselves as "feel[ing] helpless to remove myself from the situation" (3012f) or giving in to sex "to be able to leave before something scarey [sic] happened" (4320f).

The woman's decision about the timing of the first sex is magnified in importance by the belief that sex too early in a relationship dooms the relationship

-- as is, somewhat more implicitly, too long a delay. Some of the women who discussed this issue appeared to be afraid that if a relationship was not well-established before sex occurred, it would not happen. One woman concluded sadly in q 2 that she would have liked a relationship, and so should have gone more slowly (1213f). Another woman wrote a q 1 story in which at the end she was ashamed of herself for having sex so readily and worried about his reaction (7475f), although she was not specific as to the reason for her worries. At the other extreme, one woman observed that if she made her date stop short of intercourse, he'd hate her (1213f).

Another issue that complicates the decision about whether to have sex is men's discomfort with women who are "easy." Two women (10%) and three men (15%) wrote stories which referred explicitly to the female character's fear of being seen as easy or a slut. This fear does not appear to be irrational. One man wrote that after his date said she hoped he did not think she was easy, he told her that he did not, but in his head he called her a "slut, ho [sic], ass, bitch" (1973m). Another man wrote in q 4 that "some guys think that its a girl's duty to say NO to sex a couple of times because they don't want it to look like their [sic] easy" (0522m).

Some of the men made reference in their stories to women experiencing at least some of these conflicts. In particular, many men recognized that women want to take a sexually intimate relationship slowly. Some men agreed that this was appropriate, using this reason for rejecting their date's advance in q 2 or observing in q 1 that they felt sufficiently close to their date to want to have sex with her. One man observed that as his date refused his advance, she felt that she wanted to wait to have sex, yet feared losing him if she did. His response was to

"comfort her into believing that we were meant for each other and that it is the right thing to do" (6433m). Tellingly, he also used "a little bit of force."

In total, 15 (75%) of the women described themselves as having to make decisions about how much sexual activity was appropriate at that particular time, in contrast to making a decision about whether or not they wanted to have sex based on their desire. More disturbing was the finding that a majority of women, 60%, felt unable to control how much sexual activity occurred. Although they made decisions about what how much sexual activity they wanted, these women described themselves as unable to enforce those decisions. One of the women's q 1 stories involved sex being forced on the woman against her will and despite her physical resistance. Seven (35%) of the women's stories ended with the woman "giving in" to sex that she did not want (0518f; 0823f) or "let[ting] him have his way" (4000f). Two women gave in because they were afraid that something worse would happen if they didn't. One woman gave in because he was "all worked up" (4000f); another because he was "really turned on" and she wanted him to feel good around her (2424f). Another woman said that she gave in "unwantingly" after her date had ignored her saying "no" repeatedly (0823f). One woman did not want to hurt his feelings; another believed that he would hate her if she did not. All of these stories involved repeated coercive behaviours on the part of the man. Some of the women explicitly acknowledged themselves as powerless to withstand the man's repeated coercive behaviours, others appeared to be implying that they could have withstood the coercion, but the consequences would have been too great.

The relative powerlessness of women is also suggested by a the stories of four other women, in which the women both asserted that they had voluntarily chosen

to have sex and acknowledged the presence of coercion. One women wrote that "I guess I convinced myself I wanted to have sex with him. Mostly, tho, its the wine" (1050f). One woman wrote that her date attempted to touch her breast, she stopped him, they kissed for a while, then he attempted to touch her breast again. She refused more strongly and got up to leave. She wrote

> I think I'll just let him call me for a while and get to know him that way before another date. Somehow though, his apologies made him sound sincere, and willingly we ended up having sex.... I don't really know what happened between the refusal and sex to change my mind. (4573f)

Another woman refused her date's first advance, which made her nervous, saying that it was too soon. They talked a little, then he made another advance, to which she responded. She wrote "if the end result was intercourse I wanted to do it all along" (7110f). Another woman's date repeatedly increased the intimacy of their sex play. She would "get nervous again and suggest cooling it," but eventually she came to feel that sex was "inevitable." Despite their lack of "protection," they "continue[d] anyway, promising to be careful" (7475f). These women appear to be protecting themselves from acknowledging a lack of power over the outcome of sexual conflicts.

Only 8 (40%) of the 20 the women's q 1 stories included what the woman described as a genuine consent to sex, although in most of these stories there was some amount of coercive behaviour on the part of the man preceding the woman's consent. Moreover, the genuine consent of one of these women was the result of the man's persuasion that "[she was] the one for him," which turned out to be only a line he was using (3434f). Thus, only 35% of the women wrote responses to q 1

which involved consensual sexual intercourse. In contrast, in 18 (90%) of the men's stories, the woman willingly and actively consented to sex, a statistically significant difference (X^2=4.84, $p<.05$).

Six (30%) of the men's q 1 stories explicitly acknowledged in some way that the woman has less power over the outcome of the sexual encounter than does the man. Two men wrote stories in which the woman is concerned about how he will respond to her refusal. Two men wrote stories in which the female character was "wishing [he] would let it go slower" (1408m; 3523m). One man noted that "she is not sure whether she can trust me yet" (1922m) and one man's female character worried that if she insisted that they not have sex, she might lose him.

The powerlessness that women describe themselves as feeling in their stories is in sharp contrast to the feelings of responsibility that both men and women ascribe to the woman as she refuses her date's advance. In the women's q 1 stories, five (25%) women hold themselves responsible for the man's advance, worrying about what she did to bring it on, worrying that she's been sending out mixed signals and feeling guilty, asking herself how she got herself into this situation, worrying about the impression she's giving him, and feeling foolish for what she has done. Another three (15%) women feel badly about turning their date down. Among the men's q 1 stories, five (25%) describe the woman as feeling badly about his advance and her refusal – four women feel embarrassed and one is sorry for the misunderstanding. Only one woman is described as being angry and upset, emotions which seem more appropriate in this context: Why should the woman be embarassed?

In constrast, surprisingly few feelings of guilt or responsibility on the part of

the male character are evident in either the men's stories or the women's. In the men's stories, five (25%) men were described as feeling bad about the advance -- one man is feeling "almost heartbroken" (0600m), one awkward and ashamed (7625), one "like an idiot" (1001m), one embarrassed (1000m), and one "felt bad, but I thought she wanted me to" (0768m). It is at best somewhat ironic that in the men's stories, the same number of men and women were described as feel badly, although the men have engaged in sexual behaviour with an unconsenting partner and the women have refused a sexual advance that they did not want. Among the women's stories, none of the men were described as feeling upset that they engaged in a sexual behaviour with a woman which she did not want. Four (20%) men apologized, although it is unclear whether they actually felt sorry for what they had done. The only indication of any negative feelings on the part of the man was that one of the men was also described as feeling embarassed -- he turned "beet red" (4573f). In a number of the women's stories, the man saw nothing wrong with his coercive behaviour. One woman wrote about her date "he feels he has the right, he doesn't see anything wrong with lunging like that" (1050f). Another women wrote that the man "did not say sorry, for he does not feel sorry" (4182f). Six (30%) women described the man as feeling confident that he will be able to get sex.

The relatively powerless position of women, as compared with men, is neatly illustrated by the issues of birth control and safer sex.[16] Birth control, traditionally a woman's concern, is explicitly addressed in only three of the 80 stories (4%) written by the participants – one woman told her date that she is on the pill in her q 1 story, one woman wrote in q 1 that they decide to have

intercourse without protection, and one man in his q 2 story refused his date's advance because he would not have sex without birth control and protection. In addition, one woman wrote in both her q 1 and q 2 stories that penetration was brief and followed by "humping without penetration until [his] orgasm," thus presumably she believes, erroneously, that they do not need birth control (3030f). Condoms, which protect both women and men, were used somewhat more frequently, mostly in men's stories. Only one woman in her q 1 story insisted on a condom, whereas 5 men wrote q 1 stories in which the couple used a condom. Another woman wrote in her q 1 story that the man was "of course 'safe'" (4321f). Among the q 2 stories, one woman and five men wrote that the couple used condoms. One woman and one man wrote stories in which she proves to his satisfaction that she will not transmit HIV to him, but he does not reciprocate (in one case, she gives him a sexual history which he finds adequate and in the other, she tells him that she has tested negative for HIV). This despite the fact that HIV and other STDs are much more easily transmitted from a man to a woman than vice versa. Finally, that safer sex consistently meant condoms, rather than condoms and foam, is also suggestive. Foam adds significantly to the woman's protection, particularly from pregnancy, but is of little importance to the man. Foam was not mentioned in any of the participants' stories.

Finally, the structural aspects to heterosexual dating which are coercive are also evident in the varying responses of women and men to unwanted sexual experiences. Although a number of men in q 2 also described themselves as giving in to, rather than consenting to, the sex, only one man wrote that he felt badly afterward. Another man felt guilty and left hurriedly. Seven of the women's

stories described the female character as feeling awful because of the sex, sometimes after the sex itself and sometimes not until he doesn't call and, in the words of one woman, "[you're] left to feel disgusting and slutty" (3434f). Another woman wrote "I feel horrible later and hope he'll call again so I'll feel a little less trashy" (4000f). Thus, the women's response to the sex was negative more frequently than was the men's, a difference which is statistically significant (X^2=4.5, p<.05).

Men's Misperception of Women's Sexual Intent

The men's stories provide evidence to suggest that the men do see women as much more interested in sex than do the women. In 9 (45%) of the 20 men's q 1 stories, after first refusing the man, the woman later makes the advance that leads to them having sex. In an additional two (10%) stories, the woman expresses her decision that they will have sex while they are kissing later during the date. Thus, in a majority of the men's stories, the female characters desire sex enough to make it happen. In contrast, in a majority of the women's stories, the woman did not want to have sex -- in 8 (40%) of the 20 women's q 1 stories, the woman explicitly describes herself as not consenting to his desire for sex, while an additional 4 (20%) stories both contain an expressed consent and acknowledge the effects of coercive behaviours. The female character initiated sex in only three of the women's q 1 stories, significantly less frequently than in stories written by men (X^2=4.57, p<.05).

Six (30%) of the men's q 2 stories also feature women who are extremely sexually demanding, such as the woman who demands sex from her injured

boyfriend. The reason for one female character's advance is "I'm horny, he'll do" (4773m); for another woman's, more flatteringly, it is "I'm feeling pretty horny and I know he can satisfy me" (0522m). These stories have no parallel in any of the women's stories, a difference which is statistically significant (X^2=6, p<.02).

There is also, however, evidence to suggest that men are somewhat doubtful about this view of women's sexuality. Fourteen (70%) of the men's q 1 stories involved the man explicitly considering or acknowledging the possibility that his date may not desire his sexual advances. Moreover, the men whose female characters changed their minds and initiated sex seemed to have trouble formulating reasons for this reconsideration -- although the same men quite easily accounted for their own change from refusal to consent in their q 2 stories.

Sexual intent inferred from circumstances of a date. Amongst the men's stories, the only reference to sexual intent inferred from any of the circumstances of a date was that one man wrote that he would ask the woman for another date and then kiss her if she accepted it. In contrast, four of the women believed that their date might make such inferences, although the difference was not statistically significant (X^2=1.8, p=n.s.). One woman wrote that the guy probably thought she was an idiot and had led him on by coming to his apartment (1213f). Another woman wrote that her date was thinking about how much money he had spent that night and hoping he would have sex (2424f). One of the women's male characters accused her of playing hard to get and told her that she wants him as much as he wants her (1966f). He too was thinking that he deserved sex because of the money he had spent.

Women's reluctance to say no. Question 1 dictated that the woman make one

refusal, which was most often expressed quite clearly and in much the same ways in women's stories and in men's stories. In only three of the women's stories did the woman refuse only in an indirect fashion which might not have been clear to a man (see discussion of specific cues below), although in all of these stories the male character recognized the refusal. In many of the women's stories and some of the men's, the female characters also continued to refuse assertively, which was not called for by the parameters of the question. Finally, however, in 7 (35%) of the women's stories, they stopped refusing and gave into unwanted sex. It is possible that the women understood the question to mean that the sexual intercourse required by the question could not be nonconsensual, i.e., that it was required to be sexual intercourse rather than rape. However, the definition of rape used by many women is so narrow as to exclude forced sex inflicted by a date (Koss, 1985). Thus, if the construction of the question influenced women's decision to have their female character give in to sex rather than being forced, it would be expected that more than one of the eight explicitly nonconsenting sexual acts would be described as a result of force rather than giving in.[17] Thus, the participants' stories did not suggest that women are reluctant to say no, but instead that women do seem to be reluctant to continue saying no as men increase their coerciveness.

Men's refusal to believe no. In the men's stories, 4 (20%) of the women gave as a refusal a deceptive no, a "no that means try harder" as one man defined it (9999m). However, these deceptive nos were respected as frequently as were the genuine nos -- two of the deceptive nos were respected and two were not. In the men's stories containing the most extensive and acknowledged coercive behaviours, the coercions were seldom justified by a claim that the woman's refusal was

deceptive.

The women's q 1 stories also suggest that men's refusal to believe no is not perceived to contribute to the occurrence of coercive sex. With only one exception, the men in these stories did not respond to the women's refusals as if they believed the refusals were deceptive. The men did not argue that the women really did want sex. Instead, the men argued that they themselves wanted sex or gave other reasons as to why the woman should agree to sex. Given the number of coercive tactics that the women have included in their q 1 stories, it seems likely that if men's refusal to believe no were a serious problem for them, it would have featured in more than one of the women's stories.

Misperception as a Result of Focus on own Behaviour

The men's stories contradict the proposition that men's focus on their own behaviour during a sexual situation interferes with their perception of consent or refusal on the part of the woman. In fourteen (70%) of the men's stories, the male character was explicitly considering the issue of whether his date wanted or did not want the advance during his initial advance. No man wrote a story in which he had any difficulty noticing his date's refusal, nor did the women's stories suggest that men had a problem recognizing their first refusal.

It is, however, true that the participants' q 1 stories suggest that men in some cases do come to focus almost exclusively on their own behaviour later in a sexual encounter. One the sexual encounter had escalated beyond kissing, many of the women in the men's stories were astonishingly sexually passive. One man wrote that "I am erected at this time and I believe that she is ready for me so I spread

her legs apart and insert my penis" (7352m) -- giving one the impression that their partners merely, in Queen Victoria's celebrated phrase, "lie back and think of England." Some of the women's stories also featured men who became caught up in their own sexual needs and desires. None of the women's stories involved her focusing on her own sexual needs to the exclusion of the man's, although some of the men's q 2 stories did feature such behaviour on the part of the women.

Thus, the present study suggests that in these participants' perception, none of the five areas in which the literature suggested that sex differences in perception of sexual intent account for the occurrence of coercive sex -- sex differences in the amount of sexual interest attributed to others, sex differences in the amount of sexual interest inferred from the circumstances of a date, sex differences in willingness to refuse a sexual advance, sex differences in willingness to believe that a refusal is genuine, and sex differences as a result of focusing on one's own behaviour. Although some of the men did appear to perceive that their date had greater sexual interest than was supported by women's depictions of their own sexual interest, these sex differences did not result in coercive sex. Hypothesis 1, which predicted that some coercive sexual encounters would result from men's overestimation of their dates' sexual interest, was not supported.

Specific Behavioural Cues: Sexual Interest and Sexual Nonconsent

Female and male participants agreed that men first explicitly make known their interest in having sex by making some sort of sexual move -- typically a kiss first, and then an increasing escalation as far as the woman will let him (kissing her neck, fondling her breast, etc.). In 35 of the 40 q 1 stories (88%), the first

advance was physical. In four of the remaining stories, the man first expressed sexual interest verbally, by discussing his feelings for her or flattering and complimenting her.

For both women and men, the most frequent way the woman character communicated consent to the move was to cooperate with it. The other common response was to escalate it. Participants also frequently described the woman as "not resisting" the move. For men, this was always taken as indicating consent. For some of the women, not resisting was also an indication of some amount of consent (these stories ran along the lines of *he did that, and I didn't resist, but when he did that, that was going too far, so I ...*, e.g., 0823f; 4320f). These women's stories suggested that the woman did not truly consent to the move (i.e., she did not clearly and definitely want it to happen), but rather for some reason chose not to object to it. It seems unlikely to me that if her date were doing something that she wanted him to do and hence presumably was enjoying, a woman would simply do nothing in response. This woman's q 1 story captured well the ambivalence that some of the women felt about relatively nonintimate sexual activity when the man was both a date and a stranger:

> We had had a really great time so far, and when we got back to his place things continued to be great for a while. Then he began to move closer. This didn't bother me at all, I wanted to get a little closer. Then he began to make more moves like holding my hand and rubbing my leg. Holding my hand didn't really bother me but the leg I wasn't sure about. I had just been on one date and I really didn't know him which means I didn't trust him yet. I don't like to take things too far too fast. So I told him that we

> should just relax for now. However before long he made more moves and before I knew it he was kissing me. I guess it didn't bother me but in the back of my mind all I could wonder is what he was thinking, if he was just using me or if he really liked me. I knew he would tell me he liked me, whether it was a lie or not. So I didn't bother to ask, I just went with it. If he was only out for a good time then I guess I should get something out of it also. Then he star[t]ed to make other moves which I began to feel uncomfortable about. So I told him no and that I wasn't going to go any further with someone I hardly knew. (4320f)

To this woman not resisting indicates neither consent nor nonconsent, but rather is a result of her ambivalence.

Other women were clear that their lack of resistance did not indicate consent. These women described themselves as not resisting after they had repeatedly and explicitly resisted their dates' coercions. Although their dates continued to behave coercively and the women still did not want to have sex, they stopped resisting overtly and "gave in" or "let him have his way" (0518f; 0823f; 4000f). This is, of course, not "consent" using any reasonable definition of the term. "Consent" implies that a free choice has been made to engage in sex, while these women felt that they did not have the option of choosing not to engage in sex without what they saw as serious consequences.

Contrary to the hypothesis that men may simply not notice a woman's refusal, men appear to be actively aware of the possibility that their date may not consent to any particular sexual move. In 14 of the 20 men's q 1 stories (70%), the man explicitly stated in some way that he was aware of the possibility that his date

may not consent. As these men made a move, they watched their date's response closely to see whether or not she consented. In the men's stories, they recognized as indicating nonconsent a woman's saying "we're not ready," saying "no," saying "stop," asking what he was doing, her backing away or pulling away, her not kissing back, and her taking his hand off her body.

These cues are very similar to those the women used in their stories to communicate nonconsent to their dates -- she pulled or moved away, moved his hand away, told him to stop, or suggested an alternate activity. Only 4 of the 20 women (20%) described refusals that were more subtle than this -- she hesitated (2612f), "act[ed] shy, laugh[ed], and look[ed] away" (2424f), pretended not to notice his physical approach (1213f) and one woman wrote that she "hinted" that she did not want to accompany her date to his bedroom and that she "tried to say no" (0518f). This last participant also resisted earlier by physically evading her date's moves. Thus, 16 of the 20 women (80%) used the same nonconsent cues as did the men, so that the sex difference in use of nonconsent cues was not statistically significant (X^2=0.4, p=n.s.).

So in almost all cases, the ways the women stated or otherwise indicated a refusal seem to be the same cues that men understood as meaning a refusal. Thus, gender differences in the meanings of behavioural cues for sexual coercion, sexual interest, and nonconsent do not appear to contribute in a significant way to the occurrence of coercive sex. Thus, the data fail to support Hypothesis 2.

Specific Behavioural Cues: Coercion

Men and women agreed to a surprising extent on what men do that women

find coercive. Coercion was defined broadly as any behaviour which involves subjecting the other person to unwanted sexual activity or manipulating the other person into accepting unwanted sexual activity. Coercion was not defined so as to include an initial physical advance, even if it was unwanted, because so many of the participants, 35 of 40, used a physical advance as their initial sexual move. Table 3 presents the coercive behaviours used by the male character to obtain sex from the female character that were evident in participants' stories. Of the 15 categories of coercive behaviour detailed by participants, only 1 was found exclusively in women's stories and 1 was found exclusively in men's stories. The other 13 types of coercive behaviour were each found in at least one woman's story and one man's story.

Of the coercive behaviours used by men in their q 1 stories, most of them were presented as frankly manipulative. For example, one man showed the movie "Ghost" to his date because "women are always suckers" for it (1922m); another man put on a "very scary horror movie, knowing how frightened she gets. As she klings [sic] to me as she is scared, I hold her and comfort her" (6433m). One man did not move closer to his date, but covered her with a blanket and then stealthily slipped closer toward her "bit by bit" (1408m). Another man wrote that he fixed he and his date "very strong" drinks (0522m). Finally, the man who used "Ghost" also wrote "with a little bit of force, telling her that I love her and I hope we can be together forever, I will have her hand zip down my pants, and allow her to caress my penis" (6433m).

In addition, the men's responses to q 4 suggest that they realized that even those coercive behaviours which they did not explicitly acknowledge as

TABLE 3

Coercive Behaviours Used in the Participants' Question 1 Stories

Behaviours used in both men's and women's stories:

-invading her physical space

-repeated physical advances after a refusal

-escalation of level of sexual intimacy without justification

-turn her on

-removal of clothing

-use of alcohol

-forestalling no (denying the woman an opportunity make a refusal)

-ignoring no

-using physical restraint or force

-sweettalking (telling the woman how wonderful she is)

-saying what's wrong (and other questions which imply that the woman must have a problem to refuse his sexual advance)

-verbal pressure or arguing

-giving false promises re relationship or limits

Behaviours used only in women's stories:

-implicit or situational threats (about what may happen if the woman does not cooperate)

Behaviours used only in men's stories:

-emotional manipulation

Appendix F gives examples of story themes that define these categories of coercive behaviour.

manipulative were in fact inappropriate. There was no admission within the stories themselves that repeated physical advances (he kisses her, she says no, he kisses her, she moves across the room, he follows and kisses her again) were either manipulative or inappropriate. In the stories, the repeated physical advances were described as if there were no coercive element to them. In contrast to other kinds of coercive behaviour, the behaviour was described strictly factually and no evaluative judgement was present. However, in q 4, where the men were asked to describe a typical date rape, half of the men (6 men of 12) who offered a definition of date rape explicitly stated that a woman's "no" should be respected or that date rape is wrong, although neither is a necessary component of a definition of date rape. (See below for further analysis of q 4.) In one man's words,

> whatever the case, if a date explicitly says NO, sex should not be initiated under any circumstances .... After hearing no, only once, I immediately shut off my hormones and accept the fact that we won't have sex that night. (0522m)

In the same man's q 1 dating scenario, however, he kisses her, she says stop, he kisses her, she pulls away, he gets some "very strong" drinks and later kisses her again, at which time she complies. This man has described himself as engaging in behaviour which he knows to be wrong.

The one category of coercive behaviours that women described that men may not recognize was that of implicit or situational threats, e.g., he would hate me if I made him stop and something frightening would happen if I did not give in. These threats appear to have a significant impact on women's behaviour -- 9 (45%) of the female participants wrote a q 1 story in which they made reference to fears or

threats and an additional 3 (15%) women described themselves as feeling nervous because of the man's sexual interest. In those women's stories where the woman described feeling threatened, the male character also engaged in other kinds of coercive behaviours. Often the women's stories read as if they felt threatened by the intensity of the man's desire for sex, an intensity revealed by the number and extent of the coercive behaviours in which the man engaged. The intensity of the man's desire for sex appears to suggest to some women that if she does not cooperate, he will attain sex without her consent; for other women, the intensity of the man's desire appears to suggest that if she refuses sex, he will hate her or never see her again. Thus, in the perception of the women in the study, men do not inadvertently threaten women into cooperating with sex, because such threats only occur in the presence of other coercive behaviours, i.e., coercive behaviours which the men's data demonstrate that men recognize as coercive.

Sex Differences in Conflict

Hypothesis 3 predicted that there would be much less overt conflict in the men's responses and that women and men would use different cues to convey or infer conflict. In particular, the occurrence of behaviours which women experienced as coercive but men did not intend that way was predicted. In reality, there was a startling similarity between the coercions that men used in their q 1 stories and the coercions that were used against women in women's q 1 stories. Women's stories did, however, contain many more uses of these coercive behaviours than did men's -- among the women's q 1 stories, the male characters used coercive behaviours 59 times, while among the men's q 1 stories, the male characters used

coercion 39 times. The difference is statistically significant (X^2=4.1, p<.05). Another notable contrast between the men's q 1 stories and the women's, was that in 9 (45%) of the men's stories, after his date had made a clear refusal, he became the perfect gentleman, waiting patiently and non-aggressively until she made an advance to him. That this is not an accurate description of these men follows from the observation that many of these men behaved somewhat coercively until she made a clear refusal. For example, one man wrote that his initial sexual advance was to attempt to kiss her and to feel her breast, a fairly abrupt and intimate behaviour for a first advance, especially because he did not wait to see whether she consented to kiss him before trying to touch her breast. After she refused, they talked for a while and she decided to leave. He walked her to the door and this time asked whether he could kiss her. She agreed, so they did. This time, he did not make other moves. They kissed again, longer and harder, and she closed the door with her leg and decided to stay the night (0768m). The contrast in the man's behaviour prior to and after the refusal is notable.

Hypothesis 3 thus received some support, in that women's stories contained more frequent use of coercive behaviours than did men's. However, the more important part of Hypothesis 3, the prediction of behaviours which women find coercive that men do not intend that way, was not supported. Fifteen categories of men's coercive behaviours were found within participants' stories, only one of which, implicit threats, appeared in women's stories and not in men's stories. Thus, again the data have not provided an adequate explanation for the occurrence of coercive sex. It is possible that for some women, especially those who have been victimized in the past, a single sexual advance by a man, however respectful, may

be threatening in the absence of other coercive behaviours. However, none of the women in the study wrote a story in which she felt threatened although the man engaged in no other overtly coercive behaviour. This suggests such relatively few occurrences of sexual coercion occur in the absence of the man's choosing to behave in a fashion which he understands to be coercive.

Sex Differences in Initiator/Responder Comparisons

Hypothesis 4 predicted that men's responses to questions 1 and 2 would be more similar than would women's responses. It was expected that women would be more sensitive to sex differences in power in sexual situations than would men, and so women would differentiate more between situations in which the man made the advance and the woman did. Four (20%) men wrote a q 2 story which differed from their q 1 story only in that they reversed the sexes of the characters; no women did this. This difference is statistically significant (X^2=4, p<.05).

In the stories of the female participants, women used much less coercion than did men, whereas in the stories of the male participants, women used coercive behaviours as frequently as did men. Women's q 2 stories involved 27 uses of coercive behaviours on the part of their female characters, while the male characters in the women's q 1 stories engaged in coercive behaviour 59 times. Amongst the men's stories, the male character used coercion 39 times in q 1, while the female character used coercion 43 times in q 2. The women's q 2 stories contained significantly less coercion than did their q 1 stories (X^2=11.9, p<.001), while men used the same amount of coercion in the two sets of stories (X^2=0.2, p=n.s.).

Men's q 1 and q 2 stories also contained more similarity in terms of which coercive behaviours were used by the aggressor than did women's. In men's q 2 stories, the female character deliberately used alcohol to weaken the man's resistance in 4 stories, deliberately sexually aroused the man in 2 stories, and in one story made false promises about respecting his sexual limits. In contrast, among the women's stories, few of the female characters used seriously coercive behaviours. One woman threatened to tell the man's friends that he couldn't satisfy her. Another woman made him feel guilty by pouting. Other women put pressure on the man by telling him how they felt about him. The coercive behaviours used by the female character in the men's stories are considerably more similar to the coercive behaviours used by the men in the q 1 stories written by both women and men, than are the coercive behviours used by the female character in the women's stories.

Women's q 2 stories typically involved a woman who made an advance because she wanted to start a relationship, whereas in most of the women's q 1 stories, there was some question as to the continued existence of the relationship. In contrast, more of the men's q 2 stories involved casual sex than did their q 1 stories.

Thus, women's q 1 stories were more different from their q 2 stories than were men's. Women's stories were more influenced by the change in the sex of the initiator and responder than were men's. The data do support Hypothesis 4.

The Impact of Sexual Victimization

Hypothesis 5 predicted that sexually victimized women would write q 1 stories

that involved more sexual victimization than would women who had been less sexually victimized. Data was gathered about the experiences of sexual victimization that participants had undergone through the use of the SES and q 3, in which women were asked to describe their worst experience in a situation where they differed with a date or a friend about how sexually intimate they wanted to be. Use of each measure of sexual victimization grouped the participants somewhat differently.

Koss (1985; Koss et al., 1987) advocates classifying women who have been coerced into sexual activities only through verbal pressure or argument or the misuse of authority as less sexually victimized, in contrast with women who have experienced sexual activity as a result of the use of force or threat of force or the use of alcohol or drugs. This classification when applied to the 20 women participants yields one group of 10 women, who acknowledged no sexual coercion on the SES or only verbal coercion, and another group of 10 women, who experienced unwanted sexual contact, attempted intercourse, or intercourse as a result of physical coercion, threats of physical coercion, or intoxication.

The women can also be classified according to their feelings about the sexual victimization that they described in their q 3 responses. Participants were divided, relatively easily, into two groups of 10 according to my intuitive judgement of how upset the participant described being both during the assault and as a result of it.

To define the level of sexual victimization in participants q 1 stories, the extent to which the female character consented to sexual intercourse was used. As discussed above, among the women's q 1 stories, in 1 story, the woman is raped, in 7 stories, the woman gives in to sex, in 4 stories, the woman says she consents but

also acknowledges the effect of coercive behaviours (below, these stories have been referred to as in between, because they reflect neither consent nor nonconsent), and in 8 stories, the woman consents to the sex. The relationship between participants' victimization status and the outcome in their q 1 stories is presented in table 4. Both classification systems were used, because the two classifications give somewhat different results.

Table 4

Relationship between Sexual Victimization and Q 1 Story Outcome

	SES Victimization		Q 3 Victimization	
Story Outcome	Low	High	Low	High
Rape	1	0	0	1
Giving in	3	4	3	4
In between	0	4	1	3
Consent	6	2	6	2

Thus, using either classification system, inspection of Table 4 reveals that the more victimized women wrote stories which contained more sexual victimization than did less victimized women. However, tests of statistical significance could not be performed because almost all of the cells contain fewer than five members. Hypothesis 5 was supported.

The Typical Date Rape

Hypothesis 6 predicted that both women and men would generate a consistent description of a typical date rape and that the women's and men's descriptions would differ. Only 5 (25%) women answered q 4, because participants were asked to answer either q 3 or q 4.[18] Fourteen (70%) men answered q 4.[19] Three participants, two men and one woman, interpreted the question in the way I had intended and wrote a descriptive story similar to q 1. The remainder of the participipants instead offered their own definitions of date rape. The most striking characteristic of these definitions is that they were remarkably similar to the definitions for which feminists have long been arguing. The men's responses stressed that sexual activity should always be mutual and voluntary, that no pressure should be applied to a sexual partner to do something they do not want to, that "no" should always be respected, that any hesitation on the woman's part should cause the man to stop, that date rape need not be intercourse, but can be any unwanted sexual activity, and that nothing justifies date rape. None of the men's definitions covered all these points, but the all of the men were clear that a refusal should be respected. One man noted that everyone should have the "human decency" to stop when the woman objects or is even hesitant (0002m). In contrast to these definitions, one of the men who answered q 3 referred to "the fine line between 'No meaning No' and 'No meaning try harder'" (9999m). Experience, he said, has taught him that "persistance pays off, and that women are socialized to say 'NO.'" Another man in his response to q 3 distinguished between forcing himself on his girlfriend, which he has never done, and continuing to insist that he feels like sex, until sometimes she agrees (2124m). Such sophistries are nowhere

to be found in the other men's definitions of date rape, nor in the women's.

Because only two men wrote date rape scenarios, few conclusions can be drawn, although some of the similarities in the scenarios are suggestive. Both date rapes were planned almost from the beginning. Both involved giving the woman a lot of alcohol. Both began in a crowded place, a party or a bar. Both then moved, at the man's instigation, to a private place. Both involved repeated advances, until in one story the woman was too drunk to resist and in the other she broke loose and left. Neither of the men's scenarios suggested that the date rape was even in part an outcome of any misunderstanding on the part of the man.

Only 5 women responded to q 4. One woman wrote a date rape scenario. In the woman's date rape scenario, as in the men's, the man's rape involved a deliberate decision to engage in sexual intercourse that he knew that the woman did not want -- he held a pillow over her mouth to muffle her screams. However, unlike in the men's scenarios, the man's initial advance was motivated in part by his belief that she wanted to have sex. Moreoever, he was contrite afterwards and attempted to explain to the woman what had gone through his mind to make him do that. The women's definitions of date rape included sexual intercourse as a result of the force and intention of one party not wanted by the other (4321f); any sexual activity which one person has refused but the other had forced upon her or him (4573f); "whenever a woman says 'no' to advances" (8304f); and "when your date wants to have intercourse and proceeds to pressure you into it, even though you say 'NO'" (8888f).

Thus, there was very little difference between men's responses to q 4 and women's. Some women's definitions of date rape were more conservative than

some men's; for example, two women said that date rape involves force (4321f; 4573f), while many men's definitions of date rape include sex as a result of the man's pressure. Hypothesis 6 was not supported.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The Representativeness of the Sample

The 40 participants were in many respects a diverse group of University of Windsor students, although first year students and social science majors were overrepresented in the sample. The subsamples of women and men were quite similar; the greatest difference between them was that the men reported perpetrating significantly less sexually coercive behaviour than the women reported experiencing. This sex difference is consistent with previous research (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1993; Koss et al., 1987).

In comparing the participants' experience with sexual coercion with the results of other studies, it was found that the men's reported experiences were not significantly different from those of other studies. The amount of sexual victimization reported by women, however, was significantly higher than expected. That women in the present study had experienced more sexual coercion than did the women in DeKeseredy and Kelly's (1993) study is in part attributable to the decision of these researchers to ask their participants only about sexual coerion that occurred after they had graduated from high school. Many women experience a considerable amount of sexual coercion during their years in high school (Gidycz & Koss, 1989), as did a number of the women in the present study.

The reason for the difference in amount of sexual coercion experienced by

women in the present study and that experienced by women in Koss et al.'s (1987) study is somewhat less obvious. The difference is quite dramatic; for example, in Koss et al.'s (1987) study, 53.7% of the women reported that they had experienced some amount of sexual contact because of a man's coercion, including kissing, fondling, or petting. In contrast, 65% of the women in the present study had experienced sexual intercourse as a result of a man's coercion. It is likely that this discrepancy is in part a result of women's underreporting their experiences with coercive sexuality in Koss et al.'s (1987) study. In that study, participants were required to fill out their questionnaires in a mixed-sex classroom group. Moreover, for some of the participants, the experimenter administering the study was male. One can easily imagine that for many women, this would not feel like a safe environment in which to disclose sexually coercive experiences and thus would lead to underreporting. In contrast, in the present study, women participated in small, women-only groups and worked exclusively with a female experimenter.

Another possible explanation for the discrepancy between the present sample and that of Koss et al. (1987) is that the latter study took place at the end of a regularly scheduled class. In contrast, the present study required that students volunteer for the research, which took place outside of the class in which they were recruited. People who volunteer for research on sex tend to be more sexually experienced than those who do not (Saunders, Fisher, Hewitt, & Clayton, 1985). Shotland (1992) argues that individuals, both men and women, who have more sexual experience are more likely to have experience with coercive sex. For women, this is simply a result of probability -- women who have sexual contact with more men are more likely to encounter sexually coercive men. Thus, the

greater amount of sexual coercion experienced by the women in the present study may simply be a reflection of their more extensive sexual experience. The finding that only 1 woman of 20 had not experienced consensual sexual intercourse supports this reasoning. In contrast, in Koss and Oros's (1982) study, which was done at the end of a regularly-scheduled class, 24% of the women had not experienced mutually consenting sexual intercourse.

Thus, in the present study, the amount of sexually coercive behaviour disclosed by the male participants was consistent with previous research. Women disclosed more experience with sexual coercion than has been found in previous research. Some of the discrepancy is likely due to the circumstances of the present study being more conducive to such disclosure. Some of the discrepancy may also be a result of the participants having more sexual experience than is typical.

The Relationship of Participants' Stories to their Real-Life Experiences

In seeking to make sense of participants' stories and then to consider what the stories might reveal about the participants' experience, the first and most obvious issue is the question of why so much coercion occurred in so many of the stories. Both qs 1 and 2 asked the participants to write a story in which was present a sexual advance, a refusal, and later sexual intercourse. The questions also stressed how well the couple had been getting along at dinner. No coercion was present within the questions, and only a minimal level of conflict. It would have been entirely possible for a participant to write a story in which the advancing party asked in one way or another if the other person is interested in sexual activity. The second person refused, saying no thanks and explaining that he or

she needs to make a phone call or is too full from dinner. At some later point, he or she then said that now sex would be great. More realistically, given the participants' striking reluctance to discuss the possibility of sexual activity, the advancing party could kiss the other, who would not cooperate or move away. Then later on, the person who refused returns to the other person and kisses or fondles them. A very few participants did write somewhat similar stories.

Among participants' q 1 stories, 85% involved some amount of coercive behaviour on the part of the man.[20] Only 3 men and 2 women wrote q 1 stories in which there was no coercion. The number of participants who wrote stories involving coercion, however, is only one aspect of the disturbing amount of coercion in the stories. Equally troubling is the seriousness of many of the coercive behaviours used. In both men's and women's stories, men used physical force, outright lies and emotionally manipulative behaviour in pursuit of intercourse; some men also chose not to respect the woman's refusal.

Demand characteristics. One issue that must be considered is that of the demand characteristics of the research. Before participants wrote their stories, they filled out a background questionnaire as well as the Sexual Experiences Survey. The SES asks participants whether they have had experiences in which a man coerces a woman into sexual activity in a variety of ways. Thus, the SES brought coercive sexuality to mind for the participants, especially for those participants who had had such experiences. However, the participants' stories were far from elaborations of the various sexually coercive experiences presented in the SES. In contrast to the SES, only 2 of 20 men wrote a q 1 story in which the sex was not entirely consensual; most often, the woman eventually made the

decision to have intercourse and then made a sexual advance toward the man. The women's stories also differ substantially from the incidents depicted by the SES. Only one of the women wrote that she had been forced into sex, an SES item. Of the other 11 women who wrote stories in which the man's coercive behaviour was acknowledged to contribute to the occurrence of intercourse, most women wrote that after some resistance, they simply gave in. Four of those women stated that they consented, although elsewhere in their stories they also acknowledged the influence of the man's coercive beheaviours. These simply are not the types of coercive encounters inquired into by the SES, which assumes that one consents to sex or one does not, obscuring what many women, including a majority of the female participants, appear to experience as the grey area in between consent and nonconsent. Thus, the participants are not simply re-telling stories or experiences that duplicate one of the SES items.

That the influence of the SES does not account for the coerciveness found in the stories is also evident when the kinds of coercion used in the stories are examined. Many participants wrote stories in which coercive sexual behaviours were used that are not referred to in the SES. Such behaviours include the man's sweettalking the woman, the man making false promises about their relationship, the pressure that women described feeling because the man is so sexually aroused, the man preventing the woman from saying "no," and the man's use of emotional manipulation to make his date more compliant. The two most common coercive behaviours found in the stories were the man's simply repeating his physical advance after the woman has refused and the man escalating the sexual intimacy of his behaviour without any encouragement from the woman. Neither of these

coercive behaviours is inquired into by the SES.

Participants' experience with sexual coercion. The projective hypothesis suggests that when individuals are required to elaborate upon an ambiguous stimulus, such as the story sketched in q 1, their elaboration will reveal something of themselves (Exner, 1986). Some of the data suggest that participants' q 1 stories were influenced to some extent by their own experiences with coercive sexuality. Women who had experienced more sexual victimization wrote q 1 stories that involved more coercion than did women who had experienced less sexual victimization. The first line of one male participant's q 3 description of a real-life experience in which he engaged in sexual coercion is "very similar to question #1's answer" (1408m). Another man's q 1 story also contained a coercive behaviour that he has apparently used frequently enough in real-life sexual encounters to be able to comment on its effectiveness (1922m).

Moreover, the women's data provides evidence that sexually coercive experiences are experienced commonly enough to account for the appearance of sexual coercion within the women's stories. Eighteen (90%) of the women acknowledged having been coerced into sexual activity on at least one of the two measures. Thus, those women who have not personally encountered coercive sexual behaviour from men are likely to know about it through a sister or a close friend, although many women who have been sexually victimized tell no one for a long time afterward (Koss, 1985).

Men's underreporting of sexually coercive behaviour. Fewer men, only six, acknowledged having behaved in a sexually coercive manner toward a woman.[21] The contrast between the amount of coercive behaviour seen in the male

participants' q 1 stories and the amount of sexual coercion that the male participants acknowledged having used in their own lives is quite dramatic. On the SES and in q 3, six men admitted to engaging in sexually coercive behaviour, while most did not. In contrast, in the q 1 stories, only 3 men of 20 wrote stories which did not contain coercion and did not violate the parameters of the question. That much of this discrepancy is the result of men's reluctance to disclose their use of sexual coercion is supported by a number of lines of evidence.

The q 1 stories written by men who acknowledged being sexually coercive (on the SES or in q 3) are not more coercive than were the q 1 stories of the other men, neither in the number of coercions used nor the severity of those coercions. Thus, the coercions that are found in the men's q 1 stories are not only found in the stories of the minority of the sample who acknowledged using sexual coercion, nor are the most serious coercions found only in these men's stories. The conclusions that can be drawn from the men's stories about men's coerciveness are therefore not limited to the admittedly coercive men. Moreover, that the stories of the admittedly coercive men are not different from the stories of the other men suggest that the difference between these two groups of men may be more a reflection of how willing they are to disclose sexually coercive behaviour than it is a result of different patterns of sexual behaviour.

Koss (1988) found that the women in her study much more frequently acknowledged being coerced into sex than the men acknowledged being sexually coercive, just as in the present study. In both studies, the women described their assailants as boyfriends, dates, friends, and classmates, a group essentially indistinguishable from the men who participated in the study. Koss (1988)

therefore argues that because the women in her study were being assaulted by a group not significantly different from the men in the study, the men were underreporting their sexually coercive behaviour. Koss's (1988) conclusions were strengthened by the observation that a number of aspects of the sexually coercive encounters were described virtually identically by her male subjects and her female subjects, which again emphasizes the similarity of their experiences with coercive sex.

Other influences on participants' stories. What is revealed by the participants' stories may not necessarily be a replication of participants' personal experiences with sexuality and sexual coercion, but rather also a reflection of the participants' understandings about heterosexuality. Such understandings emerge from a number of sources -- participants' own experiences, information that the participants have acquired through talking with others about their experiences, and information gained through the media and other societal structures. Although some women may not have personally experienced sexual violence, all women's worldview has been profoundly influenced by the possibility of sexual violence (Clark & Lewis, 1977; Gunn & Minch, 1988). Stanko (1985) has demonstrated particularly thoroughly the profound effect that the possibility of sexual violence has on the way women live their lives. Although some men may not have been sexually coercive, many of them interact with groups of men who encourage the perpetration of sexual violence (Berkowitz, 1992) and all men in this society have encountered its rape-supportive beliefs (Clark & Lewis, 1977).

Thus, the coercion found in participants' stories most likely reflects both their experiences with coercive sex and their understandings about heterosexual

interaction, including the occurrence of coercion within such interactions. In drawing conclusions from the present study, what is important is what the participants' stories demonstrate about their understanding of heterosexuality. To what extent that understanding has arisen from their own experience, the experiences of friends, media myths, or even the warnings of parents and teachers is inconsequential. It is the understandings themselves, whatever their history, that would be expected to determine participants' behaviour within heterosexual interactions. The participants' understandings of heterosexual interaction also provide the framework within which participants interpret the behaviour of others, particularly people with whom they are or hope to be in a sexual relationship. Hence, it is sufficient for the present study to investigate the understandings of coercive heterosexuality contained within participants' stories.

Influence of fantasy on participants' stories. Some elements of participants' stories do appear to reflect reality to a considerably smaller extent than does the coercive behaviour. The most obvious example is the insistence in 11 of the men's stories that after the woman's refusal, the man accepts it and waits until the woman decides that she wants to have sex (which she conveniently does before the end of the evening).[22] That this is somewhat fanciful is evident when comparing men's q 2 stories, in which the woman made a sexual advance which the man refused. In only four of the men's q 2 stories did the man initiate the sex; in the remainder of the men's q 2 stories, the woman made another advance, and this time the man consented or gave in. Another contrast that suggests that the sexual initiation of the female character in the men's stories is to a large extent a product of men's fantasies, is provided by the women's q 1 stories. Only three women

wrote q 1 stories in which the female character initiated sexual activity after her refusal. Moreover, only 8 of the 20 women's stories involved a woman who fully consented to sex. Thus, it seems unlikely that the female characters' initiation of sex in the men's q 1 stories is a reflection of the men's experience.

Fantasy is also evident in the men's stories with respect to their sexual prowess (e.g., the couple had sex, he ejaculated, then minutes later, she said that it was his turn to please her, so he went to get another condom and gave her "45 minutes of extacy [sic]" [1973m]). Some of the men's stories also include rather unlikely behaviour on the part of the woman (e.g., she removed his silk boxer shorts with her teeth [4869m]). In the women's stories, such fantasies are evident in the romance of the encounter, rather than the sexual aspects ("he was so gentle and sweet and of course 'safe,' that time seemed to stop for us" [4321f]).

Minimizing coercive experiences. Another issue that is raised by the internal contradictions of participants' stories is that of minimizing the experience of coercion. Although the participants' stories contained a large number of coercive behaviours, many of which are seriously coercive, many of the stories also minimized the effects of that coercion. Among the women's stories, many women described experiencing quite coercive behaviours but later asserted that they had consented freely to sex or wrote that they gave in to sex for some other, less threatening reason. Few of the men's stories acknowledge in any way that the eventual consent they gain to sex may not be genuine consent, despite the men's use of coercive behaviour in pursuit of that consent.

Relatively few researchers have addressed the extent to which women deny or minimize the coerciveness of unwanted sexual experiences that they have had

(Kelly, 1988). Both Kelly (1988) and Warshaw (1988) suggest that it is important to some women to seek any explanation for a man's sexually coercive behaviour toward her rather than acknowledging that he is consciously choosing to be sexually violent toward her. To accept that someone a woman knows, often someone she is close to, would deliberately violate her in this fashion may be too painful for her to bear.

Koss (1985) investigated the minimization of sexual violence in her discussion of why some women choose not to conceptualize their being forced into vaginal intercourse as a rape. Among women who had been forced into sexual intercourse, Koss (1985) compared women who said that they had been raped and women who denied that they have been raped on a number of personality variables, attitude variables, and situational variables. She found no difference between acknowledged and unacknowledged rape victims on any of the personality or attitude variables. The most significant difference between the two groups was their prior relationship with the man who raped them -- unacknowledged rape victims were more highly acquainted with their rapist than were acknowledged rape victims. Unacknowledged rape victims reported more prior sexual intimacy with the assailant than did acknowledged rape victims. Koss (1985) concludes that

> the unacknowledged rape victim appeared to encounter her sexual assault in the context of a close personal relationship and shared sexual intimacy that disqualified the experience as rape in the victim's mind. (p. 210)

It is, however, important to note that neither the negative emotional impact at the time of the rape nor the negative emotional outcome was significantly different between the two groups. The women who did not label their attack rape had an

experience that was no less traumatic than that suffered by women who acknowledged that they had been raped (Koss, 1985). Thus, although women seek to protect themselves from pain by denying or minimizing the coerciveness of a man's behaviour toward them, this strategy does not appear to be helpful. Moreover, to the extent that it prevents women from seeking support it may interfere with her ability to cope with the aftermath of the sexual assault.

Even researchers in the area of sexual violence may minimize or deny experiences of their own in which they have been sexually victimized or their knowledge about their vulnerability to a future assault. Kelly (1988) observes that as she interviewed women about sexual violence, she recalled incidents in which she had been sexually victimized which she had forgotten; another woman who worked on the project also came to remember being sexually victimized as she transcribed Kelly's (1988) interviews. Alexander et al. (1989) argue that some rape researchers react in a pattern quite similar to that of victims of rape. The authors discuss the experiences of 5 female researchers in a study of sexual assault, all of whom were said to have clinical experience in dealing with rape. For each of the 5 women, reading case records at a centre for victims of sexual assault resulted in the woman realizing how vulnerable she was to sexual assault. Tellingly, the researchers' denial continued to the extent that they were described as developing "fear of men as strangers," despite the now-unarguable fact that women are at more risk for rape from men they know than from strangers.

The use of minimization and denial as coping mechanisms (Kelly, 1988) are evident among the women's responses to the present study. For example, one female participant asserted in her q 1 story that "if the end result was intercourse

I wanted to do it all along" (7110f). This woman, however, did not describe her initial refusal as deceptive, nor did she offer a reason why she wanted to have sex. Similarly, another woman decided to leave and walked to the door, but then "somehow though ... willingly we ended up having sex.... I don't really know what happened between the refusal and sex to change my mind" (4573f). Understanding that some women do cope with sexual violence by minimization or denial contributes to the interpretation of the participants' stories. It also suggests that this aspect of participants' stories reflects their experiences with or understandings of sexual coercion.

Hull, Forrester, Hull, and Gaines's (1992) work also suggests that the female participants may have minimized men's coercive sexual behaviours in their stories. Similar to the present study, Hull et al. (1992) asked their subjects to finish a story about a dating couple, although the outline of the story that was presented included sexually coercive behaviour on the part of the man. For some of the women the story was presented as being about Chuck and Marsha, while others were presented with a story in which "Marsha" was replaced by "you." The researchers found that the female subjects who wrote first person narratives were significantly less likely to write that the situation ended in date rape than were female subjects who wrote about both characters in the third person. The researchers suggest despite women's knowledge about date rape, women may not realistically evaluate the chances that it may happen to them. In a replication of this study, Brady, Chrisler, Hosdale, Osowiecki, and Veal (1991) found that 8% of female subjects writing in the third person wrote stories that ended in date rape, but no woman wrote a first person story that ended in date rape. Similarly, the

female participants in the current study may in fact have underestimated the amount of sexual coercion that their experience would suggest could be expected.

The Inadvertency Hypotheses

In quest of an explanation, however partial, for the sex differences in experiences with coercive sex, a number of possibilities have been investigated and found wanting. All of these possibilities have in common that they assume that in some fashion, at least some coercive sex is due to misperception, misunderstanding, or miscommunication between the dating partners. Collectively, these theories could be called the Inadvertency Hypotheses, because of their common insistence that much coercive sex is inadvertent, accidental behaviour on the part of the man. It becomes necessary, therefore, to consider the possibility that most or even all coercive heterosexual sex is in fact intentional. In contrast with the failure of the data to support the Inadvertency Hypotheses, the present study does provide significant support for the proposition that much coercive heterosexual sex is intentional on the part of the man.

Men's Overestimation of Women's Interest in Sex

Previous research provides considerable evidence that a man is likely to overestimate the sexual interest of both women in general and of a particular woman with whom the man is interacting (Abbey, 1991; Johnson et al., 1991). A man is also more likely to overestimate, in comparison with a woman, a woman's interest in sex based on her dating behaviours (Muehlenhard, 1988a). The literature asserts further that women are at times reluctant to make known to

their dates their wish not to engage in sexual activity or particular sexual activities (Lewin, 1985; Linton & Muehlenhard, 1985, cited in Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987). Researchers have also suggested that men may sometimes refuse to believe that their dates' sexual refusals are genuine (Gilmartin-Zena, 1988; Muehlenhard, 1988b). All of these sex differences are argued to result in coercive sex, because it is believed that a man will act upon what he thinks to be true of his partner's sexual desire rather than what is in fact the case. Hull et al. (1992) explicitly acknowledge this assumption in their discussion of strategies that a woman could use to avoid acquaintance rape. One of the four strategies the authors suggest is to dispute "the common presumption among men that actions speak louder than words" (p. 195). They suggest telling the man

> No matter what I've done in the past or what other women have done, I do not want to continue. I know you think I'm just saying this and that I really want/like this. But that's wrong. I want you to stop now. (p. 195)

The results of the present study, however, contradict these theories. Although some of the men who participated in this study did describe women as more interested in sex, and in particular more interested in casual sex, than did women, most of the men appeared to understand reasonably well how women viewed sex. Conflict most often arose from the decision of the man not to respect the woman's wishes, rather than his ignorance of them. Only one man of 20 attempted to justify a sexual advance toward a woman by making reference to anything but their relationship, feelings for one another, or mutual attraction. Thus, in particular, the men did not suggest that their behaviour was influenced by the circumstances surrounding the date -- her agreement to come to his place, what he

had paid for dinner, how much alcohol she had consumed, how she was dressed, or other factors that research suggests contributes to men's overestimation of their date's interest in sex (Muehlenhard, 1988a). Women's stories, however, suggest that some men do use such arguments to pressure their dates into sex. Because these arguments appear only in the women's stories, it remains unclear whether such men actually do overestimate women's sexual interest, or whether the men merely claim that they have been misled as an argument to obtain sex.[23]

The participants' stories suggest that women are not reluctant to refuse an unwanted sexual advance. However, in some of the women's stories, as the man became increasingly coercive the woman stopped resisting. In such stories, the woman feels too intimidated by the man, and by what might happen, to continue to refuse his sexual advance. Participants' stories, both men's and women's, also suggest that men's disbelieving a woman's refusal is not an important cause of coercive sex. Most men appear to realize that a woman, even one with whom they are on a date, may not be interested in sex with them. In addition, whether men respect or ignore a refusal does not appear to depend on whether they believe that refusal to be genuine. Finally, during the early stages of the sexual encounter, the men were not focusing on their own behaviour to such an extent that they had any difficulty recognizing how their partner was responding to them.

Moreover, and more importantly, the present study calls into question the assumptions that have been made about the connection between a man's estimation of sexual interest on the part of a woman and his subsequent coercive sexual behaviour (Abbey, 1991; Hull et al., 1992; Muehlenhard, 1988a). Researchers consistently assume that once a man overestimates a woman's sexual

interest, he will act on the basis of that overestimation, despite any refusals she may make, in a manner that she will experience as coercive. In most of the men's stories, however, the men were uncertain whether the woman wanted to have any sexual contact with them. Fourteen of the 20 men's q 1 stories made explicit reference to this uncertainty; often the man specifically said that he watched his date carefully to determine her reaction to his advance. Although these men had decided that there was a good chance that their date was interested in sexual contact, this estimation did not, contrary to the researchers' assumptions, cause them to conclude that their date really did want sex and to continue his sexual behaviour despite her refusals. In the participants' stories, almost all of the men did behave coercively until the woman explicitly made a refusal, and many men continued to behave coercively afterward. None of this coercive behaviour, however, was a consequence of the man's being certain that his date wanted sex. In the present study, a man's coercive sexual behaviour did not follow from his attempt to engage in sex that the woman was believed to want, but rather it was a straightforward attempt to gain sexual contact and, ultimately, sexual intercourse that the man knew that he wanted and that he was at best unsure about whether the woman wanted.

Sex Differences in Use of Behavioural Cues

More specific ways in which miscommunication might occur were also investigated by the present study. It is widely assumed that coercive sex often results from a man's inability to realize that a woman feels coerced or her inability to make him understand that she does not want to have sex with him. This belief

is frequently seen in the media and in introductory psychology textbooks (e.g., Fownes, 1993; Zimbardo, 1992) and has spawned a date rape prevention campaign, the sole message of which is "no means no" [Ontario Federation of Students, 1991; Canadian Federation of Students, 1992; see also Corcoran, 1992]). However, in the present study, when specific behavioural cues were examined that might form the basis of misunderstanding, it was found that men and women almost always used the same cues to convey and infer consent and nonconsent. The single exception in the two sexes' interpretations of cues was that of not responding to a particular sexual advance. For most of the female participants, when they did not respond to a sexual advance, it was because they did not want to engage in that behaviour.[24] Men interpreted the woman's not responding as meaning yes, or perhaps more precisely as indicating that the woman does not mind engaging in the behaviour. However, this single sex difference does not explain the occurrence of coercive sex, because women who used this cue in their stories did so only after using other nonconsent cues for some time (i.e., nonconsent cues that the men recognized as indicating nonconsent) and then giving up active resistance because the man continued to behave coercively. The responses to q 3 (the participant's worst actual sexually coercive experience) of both the women and the men also demonstrate that, in the participants' experience, the woman's refusal is consistently understood as a refusal by the man.

Moreover, the data of the present study confirm that men understand as coercive almost all of the coercive behaviours that women described. Many of the coercive behaviours that the men use in their q 1 stories are explicitly acknowledged within the story to be manipulative or coercive -- the drinks that he

gave her were very strong, when he approached her more closely he did so slowly and stealthily, he described his words as sweet talking and flattery, he acknowledged manipulating her emotionally, he made promises about a relationship which it is obvious he did not mean, and he made false promises that her sexual limits would be respected.

Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of the intentionality of these men's q 1 stories is that some men made generalizations about the efficacy of their coercive behaviours that appear to be based on the men's use of these behaviours in real-life sexual encounters with many women. In his q 1 story, one man's male character manipulated a conversation about sex to increasing levels of intimacy, as a first step in trying to get her consent to sex. As he was describing this conversation, the man wrote that at this particular point in the conversation, many "girls" are surprised that they have talked so freely, whereas others are surprised that he is surprised at their openness (1408m). Another man showed the movie *Ghost*, observing that "women are always suckers" for it (1922m). In both cases, one can only wonder how many women provide the basis for these generalizations.

In addition to the stories which contain behaviours which are explicitly acknowledged as coercive, men wrote a number of q 1 stories in which the only coercive behaviours used by the man are the repetition of a physical advances after a refusal and/or escalation of the level of sexual intimacy without some justification. Unlike the other coercive behaviours, there is no acknowledgement within the stories themselves that these behaviours are manipulative, inappropriate, or coercive. The men's own definitions of date rape, however, stated explicitly that a woman's refusal should be respected and that an attempt should

not be made to pressure or manipulate a woman into consent. Thus, the men agreed that one should not try again after a refusal, but few of them did not do so. These men described themselves as engaging in behaviours that they realized to be coercive, at least in theory.

The only coercive behaviours that women described in their q 1 stories that the men's stories did not provide evidence that men recognize as coercive, were threats about what might happen were the woman to behave in a way that displeased the man. In many of the women's stories, the female character felt threatened or afraid, typically because the man was engaging in other sexually coercive behaviours. Because these behaviours are behaviours that men also recognize as coercive, such threats would have to be made in the absence of any other sexually coercive behaviours were a man to be inadvertently coercive. Although this is possible, particularly because of the effects of women's socialization and the extensive amount of sexual victimization that many women have suffered, the absence of such an occurrence from any of the women's q 1 stories suggests that it is relatively infrequent. Moreover, six of the men's q 1 stories provide evidence that many men realize that a woman may cooperate with him sexually for reasons other than her own desire or that she may be worried about his displeasure if she does not cooperate; these men at least should be capable of differentiating between a woman's genuine consent and her submission as a result of fear.

Evidence of Intent

In addition to the failure of the Inadvertency Hypotheses to explain the data analyzed above, other facets of the data of the present study also suggest that

many men are intentionally sexually coercive.

The first of these is the men who wrote that they consciously intended to change the woman's mind about not wanting to have sex. One man described what happened between refusal and intercourse as "slowly work to breack [sic] down her inhabition [sic] and make her comfortable with her decision to go on -- help make her want to or consent to go on" (1408m). This he does by "talk[ing] her into taking off her shirt" and "promis[ing] only to touch her back side." He explains to her "how this is a good beginning [for us]." Then "finally she allows me to continue until we have had intercourse." This man went so far as to say that what he is thinking about as he makes the advance is that he enjoys "the mental interaction and stimulation of watching a person let go of their inhabitions [sic]." Another man writes that after her refusal he "sweet talked her, flattered her and got her to trust me as well as got her in the mood for sex" (1922m). Similarly, another man wrote "I comforted her into believing that we were meant for each other and that it is the right thing to do" (6433m).

In addition to those men who described the intent of their behaviour as manipulating their dates' consent, two men wrote frankly that they took advantage of the situation and thus, by implication, of their dates. In both cases, the woman made a refusal, sex play continued at a lower level of intimacy, and then the woman made a sexual move that the man did not know how to interpret. He was not sure whether she meant to communicate that she wanted sex or whether something else was going on. Despite his uncertainty about the meaning of her behaviour, in each case he chose to make a more sexually intimate move himself in

response. One man wrote:

> She began to lightly stroke [my penis] through my jeans. I was not sure what to think, seeing how a couple hours prior, she stopped me from kissing her neck. I proceeded to kiss her, with my hand carassing [sic] her breast. (1000m)

Another man wrote, "all of a sudden she untucks my shirt and pulls it off. I can't understand what is happening. So, I figured I would do the same" (1001m). Although both of these men were confused about what their date wanted, they chose to increase the sexual intimacy without determining whether she was communicating a genuine consent. One can infer that the men preferred not to risk hearing that the woman was not genuinely consenting to sex. One of the men did ask her whether she was sure much later, after he had removed her pants.

Another aspect of the data which suggests that men are at best indifferent as to whether they engage in sexual behaviour with an unwilling partner is that most of the men explicitly acknowledged that while they were making their initial advance, which was almost always a physical move, they were uncertain as to whether or not the woman wanted to engage in any sexual activity. Thus, for a number of men, as the man was trying to kiss his date, he was simultaneously wondering whether she wanted to kiss. Moreover, relatively few men offered any reason why they thought that their dates might want to participate in any sexual activity. Some men justified their sexual advance by referring to the warm feelings that they had toward their dates or saying that there was chemistry between them. Most did not.

Finally, the men apparently accept that it is appropriate for them to make the

initial sexual advance and continue to exert more control over the sexual encounter than does their date. For example, most men in their q 1 stories escalated the level of sexual intimacy despite the absence of encouragement or agreement from their date to do so. Acceptance of such escalation means that it is inevitable that women will experience a considerable amount of unwanted sexual activity. Most of the men simply escalated the level of sexual intimacy until it reached that which the woman felt was too great and then refused. Thus, unless a woman is willing to have vaginal intercourse immediately, she will always experience some unwanted sexual activity. The evidence gathered from women's lives through their responses to the SES and to q 3 support the conclusion that women experience a considerable amount of coerced sexual activity, as does even the amount of sexually coercive behaviour that was acknowledged by the men.

Sex Differences in the Heterosexual Sexual Experience

The data of the present study largely failed to support the sex differences that have been hypothesized as possible explanations for the occurrence of coercive heterosexual sex. However, other sex differences which support the conclusion that much coercive sex is intentional did emerge from the analysis of the participants' responses.

The participants' responses demonstrated that to a surprisingly large extent, they continue to adhere to the traditional sexual scripts. The man initiates a sexual encounter and continually attempts to increase the level of sexual intimacy toward vaginal intercourse. The inability of so many participants, both men and women, to write a plausible q 2 story without violating one or more of the

parameters of the question vividly illustrates this. The man's relentless strategizing toward vaginal intercourse (Kimmel, 1989, cited in Kaufman, 1993) means that the woman must constantly be vigilant about what the man is doing and what he will be doing next, as many of the women were in their q 1 stories, in order to attempt to keep some control over what happens. This process interferes with the enjoyment of both the man and the woman of even consensual sexual activities. Instead of enjoying the current sexual activity, the man must be planning how to achieve the next level of sexual intimacy (Kaufman, 1993), the woman deciding whether it is appropriate for them move to the next level and how she might try to stop it from happening if it is not. O'Sullivan and Byers (1992) confirm that although the standard sexual scripts may now permit women to accept a sexual advance as readily as would a man, initiation typically remains within the man's domain.

Most of the men's q 1 stories do involve the man quickly escalating the level of sexual intimacy, usually in the absence of any sign from the woman that that is what she wants, suggesting that many men do regard all activities short of vaginal intercourse as something to be hurried through as quickly as possible. One man wrote "[if] I were to go out on the date, dating might eventually lead to intercourse and if in fact it did, the sooner the better" to explain why he could not write a q 2 story in which he refuses the woman's advance (3523m). In those of the women's q 1 stories which involved consensual sex, the characters demonstrated more enjoyment of all stages of sexual activity and less hurry to get to intercourse. In a few of the women's q 2 stories, the woman moves very quickly toward intercourse, but this appears to result from the inability of most of the women to picture

themselves in control of a sexual encounter.

In contrast to a man's single-minded pursuit of vaginal intercourse, the woman's role in a sexual encounter is much more complex. The woman must negotiate her way through the sexual encounter, balancing a number of goals, some of which prescribe contradictory behaviours. The women's stories consistently demonstrate that their primary interest is to develop an intimate emotional relationship which includes a sexual component. Many of the women said that they would enjoy relatively less intimate sexual activities and would choose not to go beyond a particular level of intimacy, in keeping with the low level of emotional intimacy developed. Fifteen women discussed how much sexual contact they felt was appropriate in the circumstances, as distinguished from how much sexual contact they desired. Casual sex is simply unappealing to these women.

The women's stories also suggest a number of factors other than desire that influence women's decisions about consent to various sexual activities. Such decisions are typically made within a situation in which the man is pressing for increasingly intimate sexual contact; often his behaviour is somewhat coercive. The women participants' stories vividly demonstrate their fear of going too far sexually too soon, which they fear may prevent the development of the emotional relationship they desire. A significant contributor to this fear is the belief of both women and men that men do not want to be involved with "easy" women. The woman's decision about the extent to which she wants to participate in sexual activity may be complicated by behaviour on the part of the man that she finds it difficult to interpret. The man may be flattering the woman, discussing how much

he likes her and enjoys being with her, and even making promises about their relationship in order to encourage her to cooperate with him sexually, as he often did in both women's and men's stories. However, the danger that these blandishments may be false, as they were in some men's stories and some women's, means that she gives into them at her peril.

Not to give in to men's sexual requests is equally problematic. One woman wrote that her date would hate her if she made him stop short of having sex with her. Four women described themselves as feeling badly about refusing an advance made by their dates, one of whom wrote that this contributed to her decision to have sex with him. An additional four women described themselves as feeling responsible for the fact that her date made a sexual advance, feeling that she had led him on or had been giving mixed signals. It appears likely that such feelings might influence the woman towards consenting to a later sexual advance.

Perhaps, however, the most significant factor influencing women's consent is fear of what might happen if they did not. As discussed above (pp. 79-80 and 86-88), 60% of the women wrote a q 1 story in which her experience of the date, and hence presumably its outcome, was to some extent influenced by her fear or nervousness. Stanko (1985) emphasizes that women cannot predict how coercively a man will behave or when he may become overtly violent. Thus, a woman who realizes that she is in what could be a dangerous situation cannot conclude with any confidence that her date, whom she does not know, poses no danger to her. One participant explicitly acknowledged this when she concluded her description of her sexual assault (in q 3) by noting that it has influenced her decision about

whether to consent to sexual activity with other men:

> Whenever I am with a guy now I am afraid he may turn out like [my assailant] so I may decide to give in a little easier to requests and I do not trust guys and what they have to say about matters like this. (4320f)

Although some women openly acknowledged that they gave into sex because of fear of what might happen if they did not, many of the women did not discuss at length the impact of their fears on the outcome of the conflict. Some women described themselves as giving in to sex for what on the face of it appear to be absurd reasons, such as that they did not want to hurt the man's feelings. Other women wrote stories in which they insisted the sex was consensual but also acknowledged the impact of the man's coercive behaviours. Many of these women appeared to be denying both within the story and to themselves that at times they do not have a free choice as to whether to consent to sex or not. That the women's fears about what might happen were serious enough that they were explicitly acknowledged within so many of the women's stories, despite the attempt of many of these same women to minimize the coerciveness of the man's behaviour, suggests that women's fears about what might happen were she to refuse a man's attempts to coerce her into sex are both widespread and serious.

The factors discussed above as influencing women's consent are much less of an issue for men. Men do not worry about being considered easy, nor do they expect their sexual history to influence a woman's evaluation of them or her willingness to become involved. In fact, a number of men wrote stories in which they engaged in casual sex quite happily, sometimes going to considerable trouble to coerce their dates into "allow[ing]" them to do so (1408m). Ten men did make reference to a

developing emotional relationship with their date, some of whom specified that this was important or meaningful to them. Six men expressed some concern about losing the relationship through sexual behaviours that upset their dates. Such concerns, however, were usually expressed in reference to their date's being displeased by the man's sexual advance or escalation. Given that these advances were physical and the escalations often made without any encouragement on the part of the woman, an expectation of conflict is not unreasonable. Moreover, in the men's stories, when the man apologized to his date, she always accepted it, and while conversation was then awkward for a time, the ease and closeness that the man had been afraid of losing soon returned. None of the five men who described engaging in sexually coercive behaviour in q 3 wrote that their relationship with the woman had been damaged as a result of their behaviour.

The most significant difference between men's experiences and women's is that of power. Although some men wrote stories in which they had less control over the sexual interaction than they would have liked, none of the men described the feelings of powerlessness that were common in women's stories. Six men wrote q 2 stories in which they described themselves as giving in to sex that they did not want because of the women's repeated advances. In contrast to the women, the men described themselves as giving in because they were tired of arguing about it, so it seemed easier just to get it over with. There was no suggestion in any of the men's stories that they had been afraid of their dates or of what might happen were they not to consent to sex. Unlike the women, the men did not feel that they had no control over the situation, nor did they feel that they could not leave. One man asked himself "how do I get out of this without a scene" (1408m), a rather

different situation than that of the woman gave into unwanted sex so that she could leave before worse happened. Other men described their giving in as their hormones taking over or their not having the willpower to refuse their date again. Hull et al. (1992) also found that when men were asked to imagine themselves as the recipient of a woman's unwanted sexual advances, their stories were substantially different from women's stories of unwanted advances, in ways similar to those of the present study. In particular, the men were not threatened by the unwanted sexual advances, which seems to be the reason for their very different response.

A number of other themes raised by the participants also suggest that women have much less power in heterosexual relationships than do men. The issue of birth control, despite its importance to women, was raised in remarkably few of the stories (3 of 80). Safer sex, specifically condoms, was referred to somewhat more frequently, significantly more often in men's stories than women's. This again suggests that women see themselves as having relatively less power in a sexual encounter -- they are more vulnerable to transmission of STDs than are their male partners and may become pregnant, yet they feel less able than do men to protect themselves. Women's powerlessness is also evident in those stories in which he does not call her after their date and as a result she feels "disgusting and slutty," as one woman put it (3434). With the exception of one man who described himself as "almost heartbroken" when his fictional girlfriend was offended by his sexual advance (0600m), men simply did not grant that much power over their feelings to women.

What May Be Concluded About Men's Behaviour in Sexual Encounters?

As with most other studies in the area of coercive sex, the interpretation of the results of the present study is complicated by the open question of the extent to which some participants may have substituted a socially desirable response for a true response. Despite this, interpretation of the present study is possible because for many of the behaviours that the men described themselves as using in their stories, it is relatively unimportant whether whether the men's responses are reflections of their actual behaviour in sexual situations or merely reflect the behaviour that the men understand to be appropriate in sexual situations.

Thus, for example, men's stories did not involve the men using as justification for their sexual advances inferences about a woman's sexual intent based on the fact that they are on a date, on behaviour on the part of the woman that led them on, including coming to his home, on the way she was dressed, or on her flirtatious conversation or gestures. I would argue that were making such inferences something that men do in real life which they do not understand to be inappropriate, at least some of the male participants would have done so in their their stories. Such an inference would justify the sexual advance that q 1 required them to make. The men would thus have put themselves in a less unflattering or embarassing light than they did by having their male characters make advances which were acknowledged as potentially unwanted but made anyway. It is, however, impossible to conclude that the men do not make such inferences in real life. It is equally consistent with the data to say that the men may realize that to make such inferences is wrong but do so anyway. In other words, the absence of these inferences in the men's stories may result from their absence in men's lives

or from the men's awareness that of the social desirability of not making such inferences.

In this case, it is somewhat more likely that men know better than to make inferences rather than that they do not do so. Women's stories suggest that some women worry about men making these inferences, so that it is quite possible that they have had men use them against them. It could also be possible, however, that the women have acquired the information that men use do use these arguments from the media or elsewhere. Even date rape prevention campaigns often "stress misinterpretation as the cause of date rape" and teach that assertive verbal communication on the part of women will prevent it (Corcoran, 1992, p. 135; my emphasis).

The central point is that for purposes of testing the Inadvertency Hypotheses, it does not matter whether men do not engage in the behaviour or they know they should not engage in the behaviour but do so anyway. In either case, it follows that coercive sex does not result from inferences about a woman's sexual intent that were made inadvertently and then acted upon by the man, contrary to one of the Inadvertency Hypotheses. Thus, either men do not behave coercively as a result of having made erroneous inferences about a woman's sexual intent based on the circumstances of a date, or men know that inferences about a woman's sexual intent based on circumstances of a date may be erroneous and hence that acting on them may be coercive. In either case, men's coercive behaviour is not caused by their not knowing any better than to make erroneous assumptions about a woman's desire for sex.

This study establishes that men have the ability and the knowledge to be

aware that they are coercing their dates into sex when that is in fact what they are doing, thus failing to support the Inadvertency Hypotheses. Men are aware that a woman, even a date, does not necessarily want to engage in any sexual activity with them, because they knew to say so in their stories. Men understand that many women would choose to restrict their sexual intimacy to a relatively low level until an emotional relationship has developed. Men are capable of interpreting as a refusal almost all behaviours that women use to convey a refusal. Men understand that it is wrong not to respect a woman's refusal and recognize as coercive those behaviours which women experience as coercive.

Moreover, the present study also provides evidence that men do act in ways which either they consciously realize are sexually coercive or or that they have the knowledge and ability to recognize as sexually coercive. Only 3 of the 20 men wrote a q 1 story in which they engaged in no coercive behaviours, i.e., behaviours that the men themselves acknowledged to be coercive, either in the q 1 stories themselves or the men's responses to q 4. Given that it is highly unlikely that a vast majority of men would write stories in which they behaved in an inappropriate fashion were some of them not to behave this way in their own lives, this strongly suggests that many men do engage in sexually coercive behaviour on dates. In addition, men are well aware that a woman, even a date, does not necessarily want to engage in any sexual activity with them, as most men explicitly state in their stories. These same men apparently accept that it is not inappropriate to make as a first move a physical advance, which is then escalated until the woman refuses, because this is what most men described themselves as doing in their q 1 stories. This again strongly suggests the occurrence of a

considerable amount of unwanted sexual activity for women. A woman is thus placed in a position in which her only choice is whether and when to reject a particular sexual behaviour being engaged in by the man, rather than being able to participate fully in a mutual sexual experience. Even less is she in a position to make her own sexual advance when she feels that she wants to. Although the q 1 stories of many of the men involved the woman making a sexual advance later in the evening after her refusal, it is unlikely that this aspect of the men's stories is based on their experience (see the discussion of fantasy above, pp. 119-120).

That the men have disclosed so little sexual coercion in q 3 and on the SES also suggests that much of the men's coercion has been consciously chosen. As has been argued above (pp. 116-118), it is likely that the men have engaged in a considerable amount of sexually coercive behaviour which they did not disclose. Whether or not the man realized that his behaviour was coercive at the time, one would expect that most instances of sexual coercion would be recognized as such by the man eventually, if only because in most cases, the relationship will subsequently break up (Hull et al., 1992; Koss, 1988). If the men's sexual coercion had been accidental, they would be less likely to underreport it, because they would see themselves as blameless.

Moreoever, q 3 was specifically written so as to ask men about sexual encounters which they came to understand as sexually coercive only afterward. One man did write a response in which he said that he realized only afterward that the woman had not been sure that she wanted to have sex, although he had discussed her doubts with her before the encounter. The four other men who did respond to q 3 described a coercive sexual encounter that was clearly intentional,

as did the two men who wrote a scenario for q 4. One man, in describing his experiences with sexual coercion, wrote "what usually happens is that I am striving for sex. In other words I know my sole intention is to achieve sexual intercourse" (9999m). Another man's response to q 3 detailed what appears to be his standard sexual coercion technique:

> There would be continual pressure and testing the boundries [sic]. ... Touching where she allows me to but continually touching more. But not touching too much more -- don't force her -- allow her to become more comfortable with each new area. ... (1408m)

Finally, the men's definitions of date rape do not allude to the possibility that a man might unintentionally coerce a woman into sex. The definitions preach that a woman's refusal must be respected; they do not say that the man should be careful to listen for her refusal.

Thus, there is an astonishing lack of support for the possibility of inadvertent sexual coercion anywhere in the men's data. It is, however, unwarranted to conclude that in their real-life sexual experiences men are always aware when they are being coercive, simply because they have the knowledge and the ability to do so. Men may well simultaneously know that they are behaving coercively and believe that they are acting with the woman's consent. Such a double and contradictory awareness is more often recognized in women who assert that they have consented to sex while also acknowledging that they have been coerced into it (e.g., Gavey, 1991). Among the women's q 1 stories, four of the female characters stated that they had consented to the sex which they also acknowledged to be to some extent coerced.

For men, protecting themselves from acknowledging that their sexual behaviour is coercive serves the goal of obtaining sex, while continuing to believe themselves to be nice guys. An interesting example of this is the work of Scully and Marolla (1984). Among the convicted rapists Scully and Marolla (1984) interviewed, many denied that the act for which they had been convicted and imprisoned was rape. These men admitted many elements of the rape which are obviously inconsistent with consensual sex, but also maintained that the sexual encounter was consensual. The authors do not discuss how a rapist could possibly believe that admitting to physically injuring the woman, for example, did not contradict his claim that he had not engaged in rape, merely observing that many of the men interviewed apparently fervently believed this to be the truth. For the reader, though, it is difficult not to conclude that the men did know that consensual sex does not involve physical injury but somehow were able to separate this theoretical knowledge from their evaluation of their behaviour.

Clark and Lewis (1977), who studied police records of rape complaints, found that rapists tended to present themselves and their actions to the victim in particular ways. They described rapists' self-presentations as falling along a continuum ranging from the man who is "unconcernedly and frankly coercive" to the man who "must deceive himself that his actions are not rape" (p. 103). In between these two extremes, "there are many offenders who make only an erratic attempt to disguise the coercive nature of their behaviour" (p. 103). Such a man will both recognize the violence of his actions, even taking satisfaction in it, while at other times, he will obscure or ignore the coercion that his victim is experiencing. These words of some of these men suggested that they both knew

and did not know that their behaviour was rape. Clark and Lewis (1977) describe them as displaying "a complicated mixture of deception, self-deception, and rationalization" (p. 104).

Denial of what one knows to be true, or what one would know to be true if one let oneself think about it, in favour of what one wished were true is something that all of us do sometimes. However, sexually coercive behavior can be and often is very damaging for the other person involved. Thus, the real question is not, could it be that a man might both believe that a woman consented and also know that she did not. The question that must be asked instead is, why might a man allow himself to do this when the consequences for the woman may be so severe?

Should the Inadvertency Hypotheses be Discarded?

The various Inadvertency Hypotheses have a long history in both the research literature and the theories and explanations of popular culture. From the earliest studies on men's sexually coercive behaviour, it was assumed that much of this behaviour was the result of misunderstandings or miscommunication (Kanin, 1957; Kirkpatrick & Kanin, 1957). Research investigating the validity of the Inadvertency Hypotheses, rather than simply assuming their truth, came much later, dating from Abbey's (1982) work. However, although numerous reseachers have now investigated the Inadvertency Hypotheses, they have failed to design research paradigms which are adequate to test them.

Much of the research has focused on sex differences in perceptions of sexual interest, for which much evidence has been found. However, the researchers appear to base the importance of these findings on the untested assumption that if

a man overestimates a woman's desire for sex, he will act on the basis of that overestimation in a fashion which the woman experiences as coercive. The present study, however, suggests that men's overestimation of women's sexual interest is relatively unimportant in determining their behaviour -- or that men realize that it should be. In their stories, most men have considerable doubt as to whether their date does in fact want sexual activity. Moreover, the men place little confidence in their estimations of their date's interest. Most importantly, the men describe their behaviour as significantly influenced by their doubts; as the man makes a sexual advance, he watches carefully to see how the woman responds to it. In conjunction with the finding that men understand as refusals almost all of the behaviours that women use to convey refusal, the present study suggests that the assumption that overestimation of sexual interest results in the occurrence of coercive sex is incorrect. The men do behave coercively, by making a sexual move that they understand that the woman may not want, but this behaviour is not a result of the men's overestimation of sexual interest.

The present study has failed to support the Inadvertency Hypotheses, while providing substantial evidence that many men do engage in behaviors that they either realize are sexually coercive or are capable of realizing to be sexually coercive. (Among the men's q 1 stories, 80% of the male characters behaved somewhat coercively. On the two measures that asked a man whether he had engaged in sexual coercion, 30% of the men acknowledged that he had done so.) As discussed above, the data provide evidence that were a man to behave in a fashion that a woman experiences as sexually coercive, either the man would be aware that he was being sexually coercive toward her or he would have the knowledge

and ability that would allow him to be aware that he was being sexually coercive. Moreover, the data provided by the men on the SES and in their responses to q 3 provide evidence that some men do behave coercively in sexual encounters. Other behaviours that most of the men described in their q 1 stories, such as esclating the sexual intimacy of their behaviour until the woman protested, are behaviours which the men either consciously know to be coercive or are capable of knowing to be coercive.

The history of the Inadvertency Hypotheses can be examined with reference to a consistent preference for seeing accident rather than intention in some kinds of abusive behaviour. Society, and mainstream social science as a part of society, has preferred not to hold individual men responsible for their own violent behaviour, particularly when that violence is directed against women.[25] Portraits of the seductive child, the erring wife, and the provocative rape victim have been proposed to explain as helpless responses the behaviours of men that can also be labelled as child sexual abuse, wife battering, and rape. Feminist researchers and critics have argued for many years that violent men are neither victims of the women they victimize nor simply victims of society. One observer writes about rape prevention programs:

> The vast majority of rape education efforts are aimed at women, and in fact, very little is said about men. If you were unfamiliar with our culture and you happened to attend a typical college [anti-]date rape program, you might have a hard time figuring out that men have any responsibility for rape or rape prevention. It is impolite to say that men rape and

outrageous to point out that the only way to change the incidence of rape and eliminate rape is for men to stop raping. (Corcoran, 1992, p. 137)

In part, this bias towards blaming women and excusing men results from the inclination of a patriarchal culture toward holding women responsible for men's behaviour, especially when that behaviour is sexual. Moreover, because so many people are perpetrators of sexual violence, victims, or both, to talk about sexual violence is to talk about ourselves. As Miller (1991) observes about child abuse, accepting that child abuse is intentional, rather than accidental, means accepting that the abuse that has been inflicted upon us or that we have inflicted upon another was intentional. Our own needs to perceive the world, others, or ourselves in particular ways may interfere with our being able to draw logical conclusions from our research. Miller (1991) herself wrote three books on the subject of childhood abuse before she was finally able to fully blame the parents for their abusive behaviour. She now explains her earlier inability to do so on her need to continue to shield her own abusive parents from blame.

Thus, the Inadvertency Hypotheses serve to excuse men from blame for their behaviour and to protect us from acknowledging the extent of the violence in our own lives and in society. Moreover, the influence of the Inadvertency Hypotheses may also be a result of the relatively little attention paid to this area of research, despite its importance to women. Until very recently, research on the issue of rape, either its nature or its extent, has seldom been seen as important. Despite early studies that suggested that sexual coercion was a frequent occurrence on college campuses and that it most often bore little resemblance to a stranger leaping out of the bushes on a provocatively-dressed woman who was walking

alone late at night (Kanin, 1957; Kirkpatrick & Kanin, 1957), research in the social sciences on the topic of rape has been quite infrequent until the 1980s (Clark & Lewis, 1977; Craig, 1990). Moreover, a disproportionate amount of research has focused upon convicted rapists, a small group who are extremely unrepresentative of men who rape (Medea & Thompson, 1974; Scully & Marolla, 1984).

Rutter (1989) argues that men's reluctance to police or even to study other men's predatory and abusive sexuality stems in part from their vicarious enjoyment of those abuses. Rutter's (1989) work focuses on men who are sexually involved with a woman who is in a professional relationship of trust with the man, e.g., when he is her therapist, lawyer, doctor, or workplace mentor. However, this behaviour is a sexual violation that is very similar to more overtly sexually coercive behaviours. Rutter (1989) writes:

> In a tribal sense, it is as if men who violate the forbidden zone [are sexually involved with a woman who is in a professional relationship of trust with the man] are the designated surrogates who live out these fantasies for the rest of the men in the tribe. Because these men are the surrogates for the rest of us, we secretly do not wish to prevent them from having sexual relationships with the women under their care. (p. 71-72)

Rutter relates how he himself was reluctant to expose a male mentor who was sexually involved with some of his female patients. Five years after he first began hearing about the man's sexual misconduct and after a number of ex-patients had lodged complaints, Rutter and a group of colleagues finally expelled the man from their professional association. As Rutter looked back to explain why no one did anything for so long, he realized that only part of the reason lay in his idealization

of his mentor and the needs of his own that the idealization satisfied. More disturbing was that beneath his outrage over what the man had done "lurked a secret envy. I wished I could do what he had done" (p. 12). When Rutter (1989) later began to talk with other men, he found that "each of the hundreds of men I spoke with on this subject admitted that on some level he envied other men's forbidden sexual exploits" (p. 13). He concluded that such envy hindered even men who had never engaged in sexually exploitative behaviour from taking any action to end sexual exploitation. Even researchers studying the issue, who remain largely women, have had to avoid "the blockading efforts of their male colleagues" (p. 39).

Both Koss (1992) and Russell (1993) have put forth damning arguments that the much-vaunted objectivity of social science research does not prevent social scientists from misusing research in pursuit of their own political ends. Koss (1992) discusses in detail the criticisms that have been made of her 1987 study on sexual coercion (Koss et al., 1987). The critics have not followed the most basic rules of scholarship -- they have made criticisms that are answered within the article itself, they have offered a "deliberately twisted presentation" of some of the data (Koss, 1992, p. 124), and they have failed to investigate other literature in the field, which corrorobates the study's findings. As Berliner (1992) observes, "in certain cases the criticism of figures [of the prevalence of sexual violence] is driven by something other than dispassionate scientific debate" (p. 121). Koss (1992) identifies this "something" as a clash of ideologies.

Russell (1993) details a fascinating change in the public pronouncements of five social scientists, all men, about the effects of pornography on men's sexual violence.

All five men have done extensive research on the issue which supports a direct causal link. In public hearings in 1983, they testified to this effect. These same men gave testimony at the 1985 U.S. Attorney General's Commission on Pornography that no direct causal link between rape and pornography, including violent pornography, had been established outside of the laboratory. This testimony contradicted both their research and their own earlier public statements and was not a result of intervening research which contradicted their earlier work. In seeking to understand the men's turnabout, Russell (1993) hypothesizes that they were reluctant to see their research used as a basis for censorship, which is extremely unpopular in the academic community to which they belong.

Thus, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the longevity of the Inadvertency Hypotheses may result in part from men's reluctance to disturb the status quo and hence their disinclination to study the issues or to permit others to do so.

Ironically, Inadvertency Hypotheses may be popular among women precisely because they suggest that change is possible. If a significant amount of coercive sex is inadvertent, it should not be difficult to prevent it. If some men do not realize that they are coercing women into sex, if they are told that they are and how they are, it is reasonable to hope that they would stop doing so. The "no means no" campaigns take this approach (Canadian Federation of Students, 1992; Ontario Federation of Students, 1991; see also Corcoran, 1992). It is significantly harder to imagine how one might convince a man to stop coercing women into sex when he knows or should know that he is doing so. The reaction to one "no means no" campaign directly challenged the optimistic assumption that men do not mean to act contrary to a woman's refusal. A number of men at Queen's Univesity

responded with signs such as those saying "'No' means 'Down on your knees, bitch,'" "'No' means 'More beer,'" and "'No' means 'Kick her in the teeth'" (Dickie, 1990). That these sentiments were shared considerably more widely than by those few men who posted the signs is evident in the almost universal silence that followed. Although the Dean of Women ordered the signs taken down immediately, they stayed up for a week afterward. During that week, the only other faculty member or administrative official to speak out against the signs was an untenured female professor of philosophy. The university's prinicipal broke his silence only three weeks later, after extensive media coverage led to many alumni to send letters of protest, some of whom threatened to stop donating money to Queen's.

There exists a considerable amount of research which presents strong evidence against the Inadvertency Hypotheses but concludes by affirming them (e.g., Berkowitz, 1992; Fitzgerald & Ormerod, 1991; Kaufman, 1993; Muehlenhard & Hollabaugh, 1988). This also suggests that our attachment to them is somewhat irrational. Kaufman (1993) begins his discussion of acquaintance rape by observing that "unwanted physical contact often occurs because of attitudes among boys and men that sex is a right, particularly if they are paying the way" (p. 180). He states that "rape, as a drama where relations of power are acted out, is made possible by the adversarial nature of sex and just about everything else, in our society" (p. 182). Then he concludes by saying that women and men must learn to express their needs clearly and men must learn "to realize that *no* always means *no*, and that the absence of a clear *yes* also means *no*" (p. 183). Although Kaufman clearly understands that some rape, even some acquaintance rape, is intentional, he is unable to avoid reverting back to the Inadvertency Hypotheses in his only

discussion of what can be done to prevent rape.

Berkowitz (1992) demonstrates a similar confusion. In a review of research on college men as perpetrators of sexual assault, he focuses much of his discussion on findings which suggest that men often regard sexual aggression as justified. He investigates men's socialization, which he argues "provides men with permission to commit sexual assault and ... to justify similar behavior among male peers" (Berkowitz, 1992, p. 177). He discusses the situational risk factors that may increase the man's ability to control what happens on a date and the effects of male peer groups on reinforcing rape-supportive attitudes and behaviours. Finally, he reviews briefly the work on men's misperceptions of women's sexual interest. From this research, Berkowitz (1992) has derived a model of sexual assault in which it is assumed that

> most college men who commit acquaintance rape and other forms of sexual assault do not define their behavior as such and are, therefore, able to justify their actions to themselves and others. (p. 176)

Some researchers' attachment to the Inadvertency Hypotheses at times borders on the absurd. In an investigation into what faculty and graduate students perceive as sexual harassment, Fitzgerald and Ormerod (1991) were startled by their finding that their participants' judgements did not support the common assumption that most members of the academic community believe that it is inappropriate for a male faculty member to have a sexual relationship with a woman in his class. The authors suggest that "this finding may denote a misunderstanding of the power dynamics inherent in such relationships [where the faculty member has authority over the student]" (Fitzgerald & Ormerod, 1991, p.

293). The power dynamics being so obvious (especially because the research subjects were themselves teachers!), it would be more reasonable to conclude that the difference in power is more likely seen by the subjects as part of the attraction of such a relationship, rather than an unrealized problem.

A rather more dangerous attachment to the Inadvertency Hypotheses is evident in the research of Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh (1988) on women's token resistance to men's sexual advances. In their abstract, the authors conclude

> [token resistance] could, however, have negative consequences, including discouraging honest communication, perpetuating restrictive gender stereotypes and -- if men learn to disregard women's refusals -- increasing the incidence of rape. (Muehlenhard & Hollabaugh, 1988, p. 872, my emphasis)

In the article itself, however, they survey a considerable amount of reseach that clearly indicates that men already do disregard women's refusals. Yet the abstract states that men do not ignore women's refusals and that if they do, women are to blame for their use of token resistance. One particularly disturbing aspect of this contradiction is that because many more people will see the abstract than will read the article, the net effect may be to reinforce the Inadvertency Hypotheses, and to blame women for men's sexually coercive behaviour.

Another viewpoint suggests that the longevity of the Inadvertency Hypotheses is a result of our inability to accept how some men define sex. Palmer (1988) has criticized what he claims has become the orthodoxy that rape is not sexually motivated but an act of violence. One of the counterarguments that Palmer (1988) puts forward is that researchers have defined sex more narrowly than have rapists.

Where the rapist has made no effort to negotiate a consensual sexual encounter, researchers have argued that therefore his motivation is not sexual. Palmer (1988) argues that this defines sex to include concern for the other person's sexual arousal, a definition that is true for the researcher, but may well not be true for the rapist. Thus, if we could accept that for some men a woman's sexual arousal, or even her consent, is not necessary for him to have a fulfilling sexual encounter, we would no longer need to use the Inadvertency Hypotheses to explain coercive sex. In this view, the Inadvertency Hypotheses result from a refusal to believe that a sufficient number of men could knowingly be sexually coercive.

Palmer (1988) blames the early feminist writers on rape for their instigation of this orthodoxy, having read but apparently failed to comprehend their work. Feminists have consistently argued both that rape is violence and not sex for the woman/victim and that rape is often both violent and sexual for the man/assailant. Palmer (1988) cites both Griffin (1971) and Brownmiller (1975) as advocates of the "not sex" explanation of rape, despite Griffin's (1971) description of rape as "the perfect combination of sex and violence [for men]" (p. 7) and Brownmiller's (1975) clear presentation of her work as an investigation into the links betweeen violence and rape. Brownmiller (1975) examines rape during war, riots, and revolutions, rape as political oppression, rapes agreed to be criminal, and rapes involving men in positions of authority. Nowhere does Brownmiller (1975) discuss acquaintance or marital rapes, and thus in particular she does not claim that these rapes are not both sexual and violent. As early as 1979, MacKinnon explicitly critiqued the theory that rape has nothing to do with sex. She argues that

> taking rape from the realm of "the sexual," placing it in the realm of "the

> violent," allows one to be against it without raising any questions about the extent to which the institution of heterosexuality has defined force as a normal part of "the preliminaries [to intercourse]." (MacKinnon, 1979, p. 219)

Dworkin (1981) labels rape "the defining paradigm of [male] sexuality" (p. 62). Bart and O'Brien (1985) observed that some men have difficulty "differentiating heterosexual intercourse from rape" (p. 10). It is clear that whatever the failures of the social science literature, Palmer's (1988) blame of feminist writers reflects only his unfamiliarity with their work.

Mainstream social scientists, in contrast, have been reluctant to see the sexual aims of rape, in part because they have been reluctant to admit that rape is something that normal men do. Stanko (1985) argues that men, and the social sciences, distinguish between typical and aberrant male behaviours, so that by definition men's typical behaviour is not threatening, violent, or abusive. Yet for women, this distinction breaks down – we experience as typical male physical and sexual aggression. Kelly (1988) argues that many women experience as threatening incidents such as flashing and street harassment that men dismiss as minor or even claim to be complimentary. Sheffield (1993) labels such incidents as "sexual terrorism," arguing that they serve to remind women and girls that they are at risk for male sexual violence, just because they are female. The fear engendered by these behaviours thus allows men to maintain dominance of and control over women.

Dismissal of the Inadvertency Hypotheses requires us to accept that many men believe their own sexual needs to be more important than the bodily integrity of

the women whom they coerce into sex. Despite many different kinds of evidence available, many people, some women as well as some men, simply refuse to believe this. The privileging of men's sexual needs over women's bodies and lives has long been evident in the laws against rape and more dramatically in their enforcement (Estrich, 1987; Boyle, 1984; Pickard, 1980). It is also seen in the furor of the pornography debate, in which one side argues that men's (and women's) right to see pornography is more important than the harm done to real women by pornography (Cole, 1989). The refusal to believe is also seen in the controversy over false memories. In response to an untold number of actual cases of child sexual abuse and a relatively few cases in which the recovered memories were false, the Globe and Mail offered a headline in which it asked whether memories of childhood sexual abuse are "real or imagined" as if these are two equally likely possibilities (Makin, 1993).

It is long past time that the social science literature and researchers accept what both our research and our lives are telling us. The Inadvertency Hypotheses account for at best a small, perhaps minute, amount of the violence that men perpetrate against women. We must look elsewhere for causes and generate theories that will help us toward solutions. It is my hope that the present study will be a significant step in that process.

Strengths and Limitations of the Present Study

The main strength of the present study is that much of the task was opaque to the participants; they did not know the correct, socially-desirable response. Most men, as they demonstrated in q 4, realized that one does not pressure a woman

into sex, one should respect a woman's refusal, and so forth. Some of the male participants wrote that they would never ignore a refusal or manipulate a woman into sex. However, the relatively unstructured nature of qs 1 and 2 and perhaps the familiarity of the conflict described in q 1 resulted in the men in particular providing far more information about how they actually do behave than is the case in a myriad of scenario studies. Unsurprisingly, the men's description of their behaviour in q 1 contradicted their socially appropriate responses to q 4. An interesting contrast to men's willingness to respond to q 1 with stories that contained coercive sexual behaviour is provided by a study which explicitly asked men to write a coercive sexual fantasy (Greendlinger & Byrne, 1987). Less than 20% of the men wrote such a fantasy.

An additional strength was that the essay questions were constructed to investigate both sexual conflicts in which the men wanted sex and the woman did not and sexual conflicts in which the woman wanted sex and the man did not. Struckman-Johnson (1991), noting that relatively few studies investigate both possibilities, suggests that if more studies did so, the research would show greater similarities between the sexual experiences of women and of men. In contrast, in the present study, the investigation of both possibilities resulted in findings of more and greater sex differences than had participants been asked solely about sexual conflicts in which the man is the initiator. The stories in which the woman was the aggressor highlighted the extent to which participants' sexual experiences were bound by the traditional paradigms in a way that stories in which the man was the aggressor simply could not have.

The chief limitation of the present study is the small and somewhat

unrepresentative sample. A replication of the study involving more participants, particularly in fields of study outside the social sciences, would be helpful. However, although only 40 participants were involved in the present study, an extensive amount of data was collected. Moreover, the conclusions of the study are based on a number of lines of argument, all of which are remarkably consistent.

Another limitation of the study was the poor design of q 4, in which participants were asked to describe a typical date rape. I had intended participants to write a scenario in the manner of qs 1 and 2, so as to compare their descriptions of a more serious sexual assault to the q 1 stories. However, the participants did not interpret the question the way that I had intended. Their responses suggested that they understand that there is no such thing as a "typical" date rape and indeed a number of them appeared to take offense at the implication that there was such a thing.

Directions for Future Research

As argued above, I believe that it is crucial to discard the Inadvertency Hypotheses and to begin to work, however uneasily, with the knowledge that many men are choosing to engage in heterosexual sex which they know to be coercive or are deliberately refusing to see as coercive. Relatively unexamined in the present study is the extent to which men consciously realize that their behaviour is coercive, rather than a result of what might be called wilful blindness -- although a number of lines of evidence suggest that a significant proportion of coercive behaviour is consciously chosen. However, I see the extent to which men consciously choose to commit sexual assault, as opposed to engage in behaviour

that they refuse to let themselves recognize as sexual assault, as an interesting theoretical issue which is somewhat beside the point. The answer to this question is unlikely to be useful in decreasing the prevalence of coercive sex.

The crucial issue of this field of research, emphasized by how few women in the present study had not been sexually victimized, is that coercive heterosexual sex is a problem of almost unimaginable proportions for women. Thus, I see it as imperative to do research toward preventing acquaintance rape. We need to know what would stop men from coercing women into sex, and then do it.

One area of research that might be fruitful is to change our strategy to focus not on men who are sexually coercive, but on other men who collude with them, especially those in positions of power. Warshaw (1988) discusses the failure of many university officials to take men's sexual violence against women seriously. Dickie (1990) notes that with the exception of the Dean of Women, the response of the university administration to the "'No' means 'Kick her in the teeth'" signs publicly displayed at Queen's University was a shameful complicity. The law is particularly notorious for the way in which men in positions of power as lawmakers, judges, lawyers, and law enforcement officials bond with the assailants against the victims (Clark & Lewis, 1977; Estrich, 1987).[26] If research could end such collusion, the law and other disciplinary procedures might function to protect women in fact as they do in theory and prevent some men from engaging in sexual violence. Although it is somewhat pessimistic to abandon the attempt to change men's sexually coercive behaviour through appealing to their better natures, it is a pessimism that is well justified.

Another research issue that is raised by the study is that of compulsory

heterosexuality (Rich, 1980). When women view men in the way that many of the women in the study do (which is not to imply that their views of men are unreasonable or inappropriate), why do their stories demonstrate that it is so important to them to develop an emotional and sexual relationship with a man? It is clear in many of the participants' stories that the possibility of a relationship with the man is a major contributor to their experiencing unwanted sex. Because the woman is so desperate to have such a relationship, she will try almost anything in an attempt to bring it about, including giving in to unwanted sex. Research as to how women might end their overvaluing of sexual relationships might go a long way towards equalizing the power of women and men in heterosexual relationships.

ENDNOTES

1. Although "feminism" (and hence "feminist") are defined in numerous ways, the definitions share a commitment to the "advocacy of women's rights on ground of equality of the sexes" (Concise Oxford Dictionary). For the purposes of the present discussion, the scholars defined as "feminist" have either explicitly labelled themselves as feminists or have situated their work within the theories and politics of feminism.

2. This argument depends upon the thesis that sexual assault or sexual coercion is not violent in and of itself, but is only defined as violent in some cases -- if, for example, a weapon or excessive force is used. Although along with many scholars, I believe that sexual assault is inherently violent, many legal systems, including Canada's, define only some sexual assaults as violent.

3. Estrich (1987), among others, has noted that a victim of rape must have acted like the law's "reasonable man" in order for her assailant to be convicted of rape, despite the logical absurdity inherent in this position.

4. Abbey apparently assumes all of her subjects are heterosexual; thus she has not investigated misperceptions of sexual interest in members of the same sex.

5. In these studies, the descriptors such as flirtatious, promiscuous, and seductive are used as labels for the Likert scales. Thus, subjects must use their own definitions of these terms.

6. As rare as Muehlenhard and her colleagues have found women's use of a deceptive refusal to be, their figures appear to be inflated by the way their subjects interpreted "had every intention to and were willing to engage in sexual intercourse" (Muehlenhard & Hollabaugh, 1988, p. 873). An examination of the reasons given by women for their use of the deceptive refusals suggests that many of the subjects interpreted the question as meaning that they had a desire to have intercourse at some later time, often in other circumstances. Among the reasons for the deceptive refusals were "it was too early in the relationship," "one or both of us were involved in other relationships," "I didn't know him well enough," "I was afraid I might get a sexually transmitted disease," "the surroundings were less than ideal (e.g., other people were around, parents or roommates might come home," "I was afraid I might get pregnant," "I wasn't ready for it emotionally," and "it was against my religious beliefs or moral values" (Muehlenhard & Hollabaugh, 1988). Thus, it seems clear that many of the subjects who reported using what the researchers interpreted as a deceptive refusal were in fact experiencing sexual desire that they wanted to gratify at some later time but that at the time they had good reasons to choose not to have sex. This is not what is commonly meant by a deceptive refusal, a "no" that means "yes."

7. In a later study (Johnson, Jackson, & Smith, 1989), the authors used the same independent variable, but consistently called it the clarity of the victim's nonconsent, which is somewhat less pejorative than labelling it, as they did in their first study, her

desire to have intercourse.

8. These "irrational ideas" are among the assumptions about sex that remain largely taken for granted in our culture and are particularly evident in popular culture. McCormick's apparent puzzlement about the widespread acceptance of these ideas is astonishing.

9. The confusion as to how many men is well illustrated by the conclusion reached by Baier, Rosenzweig, and Whipple (1992), who conclude that "approximately one-eighth of the men, one-fourth of the women, and more than one-third of the gay/bisexuals surveyed" reported that they had been coerced into sexual intercourse. One is left wondering whether "men" means "heterosexual men" and if not why the authors chose not to calculate separate figures for men's victimization by men and by women.

10. That more men than women reported experiencing unwanted intercourse as a result of physical coercion is a finding so anomalous as to suggest that women and men may have used different definitions of physical coercion and perhaps of unwanted intercourse in answering the survey. Muehlenhard and Cook (1988) discuss only the greater number of men than women who reported engaging in unwanted intercourse, explaining the finding by arguing that refusing intercourse is consistent with the female sex role, but not the male.

11. White and Humphrey (1991), in a review of studies of students' beliefs about acquaintance rape, many of which were vignette studies, concluded that "the general consensus among American students from junior high school through college is that forced sexual intercourse on a date rarely constitutes rape" (p. 45). This is true even in cases where physical violence has occurred.

12. One woman answered both questions, one man answered neither.

13. Substantially similar results emerged from the two independent data analyses. The major difference were the categories of coercive cues derived from the participants' stories. Only one of us derived from participants' stories the cues "forestalling no," "asking 'what's wrong,'" and "implicit or situational threats." See Appendix 6 for more information on the themes in the participants' stories that defined these categories.

14. In quoting the participants, the participant number that they chose to identify themselves will be used, followed by an *f* or an *m* to indicate the sex of the participant.

15. These women may have experienced their objectively less coercive experience as more painful, perhaps because it involved a greater betrayal of trust. It is also possible that they simply chose to describe a less coercive experience because it was less painful to recall.

16. Safer sex has commonly been defined as not including the issue of birth control, although the androcentric bias of this continues to amaze me. Although condoms are one form of birth control, for many women, they have an unacceptably high failure rate when used alone. Some condom machines are labelled to remind the users that the purpose of condoms is to decrease the risk of transmission of STDs. I thus am following the common definition of safer sex.

17. Other aspects of the way in which some of the women's stories minimalized the man's coercive behaviour (see pp. 120-124) also suggests that this was not an artefact of the contruction of the question.

18. One participant answered both q 3 and q 4.

19. One man answered neither q 3 nor q 4.

20. One man wrote a q 1 story which did not conclude with intercourse.

21. An additional man wrote a response to q 3 in which he said that the woman had been unsure about whether she wanted to have sex, she finally decided that she did want to, but it turned out that 'her heart wasn't in it' (2618m). The man stressed that his behaviour had not been sexually coercive.

22. Nothing in q 1 specified that sexual intercourse must take place later in the same evening in which the conflict occurred, but only one man wrote a story in which sexual intercourse took place on another day.

23. Muehlenhard and Linton (1987) take at face value the assertions of many of their male subjects that they had been led on during dates on which they had engaged in sexual behaviour that they knew the woman did not want. In contrast, I would argue this may instead be a convenient rationalization for the man's use of sexual coercion.

24. Because these stories typically simultaneously involved the woman ceasing her active resistance to sexual activity at the same time as she decided to give in the man's desire for sex, it is unknown whether women expect men to understand their silence as a refusal. Because the man's earlier behaviour has demonstrated that he does not intend to respect her refusal, presumably it seems irrelevant to her how he understands her silence.

25. The major exception to this generalization has been the tendency of psychology in particular to define violent men as mentally ill, but this also implies that the men are not responsible for their violence.

26. In fact, Boyle (1984) argues that that lawmakers have seen themselves both as potential victims of a false complaint and as men whose wife, sister, or daughter might be sexually assaulted. The history of the rape laws, Boyle (1984) argues, may be seen in the uneasy compromises between these two contradictory positions. Because lawmakers have not identified with the female victim of sexual assault, any

legal protection that has been gained by women is incidental.

APPENDIX A – RECRUITMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

Hi. I'm Jodee McCaw, a graduate student in Clinical Psychology at the University of Windsor. I've come here today because I'm looking for subjects to participate in the research study that I am doing for my Master's degree. My study is about sexual conflicts in dating relationships. Basically, I'll be asking you to write some stories about a heterosexual dating couple, in which sexual conflicts will play an important part. I will also be asking you to answer a written questionnaire about your own sexual experiences and perhaps to write about one of them.

Although I welcome subjects of all sexual orientations/preferences, because this is a study about heterosexual interactions, you should have some experience with heterosexual dating and/or heterosexual sex to sign up. Extensive sexual experience is, however, not necessary – it is sufficient if you have experienced your first kiss.

It is important that you only sign up for this study if you think that you will not be uncomfortable or embarrassed during it. I expect that sessions should last approximately 2 hours and 3 experimental credit points will be available for participating. While I've been talking, people have been, I hope, passing around slips of paper. If you would like to participate, write your name and phone number on the slip and drop it in the box which is circulating. Otherwise, write "no thanks" or just leave the paper blank and drop it in.

Thank you.

APPENDIX B – CONSENT FORM

I, _____ (please print name) hereby give my consent to participate in the research project being conducted by Jodee McCaw, a Master's candidate in the Department of Psychology at the University of Windsor. This research is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Charlene Y. Senn of the Department of Psychology. The study has been reviewed and cleared by the University Ethics Committee and the Department of Psychology Ethics Committee. Any concerns that I might have about the ethical aspects of the study should be directed to the Office of Research Services (ext. 3916); other concerns may be directed either to Dr. Senn (ext. 2255) or to the Office of Research Services.

I understand that the research will entail thinking and writing about dating and sexual interactions. Moreover, I realize that I will be asked to think about particular sexual experiences that I have had, some of which may have been unpleasant or difficult for me. I understand that the study will consist of two short questionnaires and writing responses to three scenarios, each of which should take me about half an hour to complete. I realize that I will be asked explicit questions about unwanted or coercive sexual experiences that I may have had. Such questions may be disturbing for some people. If I have any concerns that I may be upset by questions of this nature, I may choose at this point to reconsider my participation in this study.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary. I realize that I may stop participating in the research at any point, I may skip one or more questions, or I may, if I choose, leave now; in any case, I will receive the experimental credits.

After the study, I will receive a full explanation of the reasons for the study and the expected findings. Thus, I understand that the study will take approximately two hours to complete and that I will receive three experimental credit points for my participation.

I understand that my responses will be anonymous; this consent form will be collected separately from my handwritten responses, which will be transcribed onto computer and then destroyed. My questionnaires will be matched with the essay responses by a number given to me when I start the study. I realize that my name will never be used in connection with the study nor in any report of its findings, now or in the future.

I understand that the findings of this research project will be available to me after the data are analyzed and that I may contact the researcher (ext. 2217) in April to discuss the findings. A copy of the findings will be posted on the Department of Psychology bulletin board.

I have understood the information above. By signing this document, I am indicating that I voluntarily consent to participate in this research project under

the terms above. I also acknowledge the receipt of a second copy of this consent form, which I will retain for future reference.

Date

Participant's Signature

APPENDIX C -- BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE

A. What year are you in?
   1) first
   2) second
   3) third
   4) fourth or higher

B. What is your student status?
   1) full-time
   2) part-time

C. What is your field of study?

   _____

D. What is your age? _____ years.

E. At present, are you involved in one or more intimate sexual relationships?
   1) yes
   2) no

F. At present, what is your sexual orientation?
   1) heterosexual
   2) lesbian
   3) bisexual
   4) not sure

G. What is your marital status?
   1) single, never married or common-law
   2) presently married or common-law
   3) divorced or separated
   4) widowed
   5) other, please state _____

H. What are your current living arrangements?
   1) living with parent(s)
   2) living in residence or married students' housing
   3) living alone off-campus
   4) living off-campus with roommate(s)
      (non-sexual relationship)
   5) living off-campus with partner (sexual relationship)
   6) living off-campus with partner and dependent children
   7) living off-campus with dependent children
   8) other, please specify

   _____

I. To what ethnic groups did you or your ancestors belong upon first coming to Canada?

Please list.

_____

_____

_____

J. What is your current religious affiliation?

_____

K. What is the religious affiliation you were brought up with?

_____

APPENDIX D – SEXUAL EXPERIENCES SURVEY

Sexual Experiences Survey – Women's Version

On the following pages are questions about your sexual experiences from age 14 on. Please mark the appropriate lines with an X.

1. Have you had sex play (fondling, kissing, or petting but not intercourse) when you didn't want to because of a man's continual arguments and pressure?

No ____ go on to question 2 below

Yes ____

1a. About how many times has it happened (from age 14 on)?

1 2 3 4 5 or more

1b. How many times last year (Sept. 1991 to Sept. 1992)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

---

2. Have you had sex play (fondling, kissing or petting but not intercourse) when you didn't want to because a man used his position of authority (boss, teacher, camp counsellor, supervisor) to make you?

No ____ go on to question 3 below

Yes ____

2a. About how many times has it happened (from age 14 on)?

1 2 3 4 5 or more

2b. How many times last year (Sept. 1991 to Sept. 1992)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

---

3. Have you had sex play (fondling, kissing, petting) when you didn't want to because a man threatened or used some degree of physical force (twisting your arm, holding you down, etc.)?

No ___ go on to question 4 below

Yes ___

3a. About how many times has it happened (from age 14 on)?

1 2 3 4 5 or more

3b. How many times last year (Sept. 1991 to Sept. 1992)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

The following are questions about sexual intercourse. By sexual intercourse, we mean penetration of a woman's vagina, no matter how slight, by a man's penis. Ejaculation is not required. Whenever you see the words sexual intercourse, please use this definition.

4. Have you had a man attempt sexual intercourse (get on top of you, attempt to insert his penis) when you didn't want to by threatening or using some degree of force (twisting your arm, holding you down, etc) but intercourse did not occur?

No ___ go on to question 5 below

Yes ___

4a. About how many times has it happened (from age 14 on)?

1 2 3 4 5 or more

4b. How many times last year (Sept. 1991 to Sept. 1992)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

---

5. Have you had a man attempt sexual intercourse (get on top of you, attempt to insert penis) with you by giving you alcohol or drugs but intercourse did not occur?

No ___ go on to question 6 below

Yes ___

5a. About how many times has it happened (from age 14 on)?

1 2 3 4 5 or more

5b. How many times last year (Sept. 1991 to Sept. 1992)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

---

6. Have you had sex acts (anal or oral intercourse or penetration by objects such as fingers, etc.) when you didn't want to because a man threatened or used some degree of physical force (twisting your arm, holding you down, etc.) to make you?

No ___ go on to question 7 below

Yes ___

6a. About how many times has it happened (from age 14 on)?

1 2 3 4 5 or more

6b. How many times last year (Sept. 1991 to Sept. 1992)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

---

7. Have you had sexual intercourse when you didn't want to because of a man's continual arguments and pressure?

No ___ go on to question 8 below

Yes ___

7a. About how many times has it happened (from age 14 on)?

1 2 3 4 5 or more

7b. How many times last year (Sept. 1991 to Sept. 1992)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

---

8. Have you had sexual intercourse when you didn't want to because a man used his position of authority (boss, teacher, camp counsellor, supervisor) to make you?

No ___ go on to question 9 below

Yes ___

8a. About how many times has it happened (from age 14 on)?

1 2 3 4 5 or more

8b. How many times last year (Sept. 1991 to Sept. 1992)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

---

9. Have you had sexual intercourse when you didn't want to because a man gave you alcohol or drugs?

No ___ go on to question 10 below

Yes ___

9a. About how many times has it happened (from age 14 on)?

1 2 3 4 5 or more

9b. How many times last year (Sept. 1991 to Sept. 1992)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

---

10. Have you had sexual intercourse when you didn't want to because a man threatened or used some degree of physical force (twisting your arm, holding you down, etc.) to make you?

No ___ go on to question 11 below

Yes ___

10a. About how many times has it happened (from age 14 on)?

1 2 3 4 5 or more

10b. How many times last year (Sept. 1991 to Sept. 1992)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

---

11. Have you ever willingly kissed or petted with a member of the opposite sex?

No ___

Yes ___

12. Have you ever willingly had sexual intercourse with a member of the opposite sex?

No ___

Yes ___

Sexual Experiences Survey – Men's Version

On the following pages are questions about your sexual experiences from age 14 on. Please mark the appropriate spaces with an X.

1. Have you engaged in sex play (fondling, kissing, or petting, but not intercourse) with a woman when she didn't want to by using continual arguments and pressure?

No ___ go on to question 2 below

Yes ___

1a. About how many times has it happened (from age 14 on)?

1 2 3 4 5 or more

1b. How many times last year (Sept. 1991 to Sept. 1992)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

---

2. Have you engaged in sex play (fondling, kissing, or petting, but not intercourse) with a woman when she didn't want to by using your position of authority (boss, teacher, camp counsellor, supervisor)?

No ___ go on to question 3 below

Yes ___

2a. About how many times has it happened (from age 14 on)?

1 2 3 4 5 or more

2b. How many times last year (Sept. 1991 to Sept. 1992)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

---

3. Have you engaged in sex play (fondling, kissing, or petting, but not intercourse) with a woman when she didn't want to by threatening or using some degree of physical force (twisting her arm, holding her down, etc.)?

No ___ go on to question 4 below

Yes ___

3a. About how many times has it happened (from age 14 on)?

1 2 3 4 5 or more

3b. How many times last year (Sept. 1991 to Sept. 1992)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

The following are questions about sexual intercourse. By sexual intercourse, we mean penetration of a woman's vagina, no matter how slight, by a man's penis. Ejaculation is not required. Whenever you see the words sexual intercourse, please use this definition.

4. Have you attempted sexual intercourse (got on top of her, attempted to insert penis) with a woman when she didn't want to by threatening or using some degree of force (twisting her arm, holding her down, etc.) but intercourse did not occur?

No ___ go on to question 5 below

Yes ___

4a. About how many times has it happened (from age 14 on)?

1 2 3 4 5 or more

4b. How many times last year (Sept. 1991 to Sept. 1992)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

---

5. Have you attempted sexual intercourse (got on top of her, attempted to insert penis) with a woman when she didn't want to by giving her alcohol or drugs, but intercourse did not occur?

No ____ go on to question 6 below

Yes ____

5a. About how many times has it happened (from age 14 on)?

1 2 3 4 5 or more

5b. How many times last year (Sept. 1991 to Sept. 1992)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

---

6. Have you engaged in sex acts (anal or oral intercourse or penetration by objects such as fingers, etc.) with a woman when she didn't want to by threatening or using some degree of physical force (twisting her arm, holding her down, etc.)?

No ____ go on to question 7 below

Yes ____

6a. About how many times has it happened (from age 14 on)?

1 2 3 4 5 or more

6b. How many times last year (Sept. 1991 to Sept. 1992)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

---

7. Have you engaged in sexual intercourse with a woman when she didn't want to by using continual arguments and pressure?

No ___ go on to question 8 below

Yes ___

7a. About how many times has it happened (from age 14 on)?

_1_ _2_ _3_ _4_ _5 or more_

7b. How many times last year (Sept. 1991 to Sept. 1992)?

_0_ _1_ _2_ _3_ _4_ _5 or more_

---

8. Have you engaged in sexual intercourse with a woman when she didn't want to by using your position of authority (boss, teacher, camp counsellor, supervisor)?

No ___ go on to question 9 below

Yes ___

8a. About how many times has it happened (from age 14 on)?

_1_ _2_ _3_ _4_ _5 or more_

8b. How many times last year (Sept. 1991 to Sept. 1992)?

_0_ _1_ _2_ _3_ _4_ _5 or more_

---

9. Have you engaged in sexual intercourse with a woman when she didn't want to by giving her alcohol or drugs?

No ____ go on to question 10 below

Yes ____

9a. About how many times has it happened (from age 14 on)?

1 2 3 4 5 or more

9b. How many times last year (Sept. 1991 to Sept. 1992)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

---

10. Have you engaged in sexual intercourse with a woman when she didn't want to by threatening or using some degree of physical force (twisting her arm, holding her down, etc.)?

No ____ go on to question 11 below

Yes ____

10a. About how many times has it happened (from age 14 on)?

1 2 3 4 5 or more

10b. How many times last year (Sept. 1991 to Sept. 1992)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

---

11. Have you ever willingly kissed or petted with a member of the opposite sex?

No ____

Yes ____

12. Have you ever willingly had sexual intercourse with a member of the opposite sex?

No ____

Yes ____

APPENDIX E – DEBRIEFING SUMMARY

-thank you for your participation
-sometimes doing such a study brings up things that people feel they want to talk about; at the end of the debriefing I'll be giving out a list of people to whom you might want to talk and how to get in touch with them
-brief summary of frequency of coercive sex on campus
-differences in women's and men's reports
-other studies indicating differences between perceptions of women and men
-so women and men may see their date differently; in particular it is possible coercive sex for women is experienced by men as consensual
-emphasize that this is not to blame women for not struggling visibly enough, instead that some men seem to have trouble eg perceiving lack of sexual interest no matter how strongly it is conveyed
-also differences in 'force' and 'threat' very important here
-so what I was interested in doing was getting at what people thought actually happened in dates where there is danger of coercive sex – what moves do they make, how do they perceive their date's refusal, what do they do then, etc.
-the idea being to look for commonalities, and then basing educational programs on them
-the first two questions were an attempt to look at how much sex mattered; my idea here is that I expect that in men's stories there will be less difference between the men and women who initially didn't want sex and the men and women who persuaded or pressured their partners into sex than women describe. Easiest to explain why I expect to find this with an example: Much research has suggested that men are only sympathetic to victims of sexual assault or rape when they have fought hard, physically, against the attack. Because of this, some women have suggested that men will only recognize sex as unwanted by the woman when she behaves like a man would in response to an attack. Although there are a lot of reasons why women wouldn't be able to or would choose not to fight back physically during an assault (less physical strength, little experience with fighting physically, being hampered by wearing 'feminine' clothing, the man might be perceived as very frightening, and so on), men seem not to understand that this might be the case. I also expect that women will describe the male initiators as more forceful and perhaps frightening than the female initiators, whereas for men there will be less of a difference, again because I think that women perceive men as having more power in a conflict over sex simply because they are men, whereas men do not appreciate the extent to which they are perceived this way.
-does this make sense to them in terms of their experience?
-any questions, issues, etc.?
-hand out list of resources: first, people to talk to: sexual assault crisis line, psych services, peer counselling, distress line; also, political groups, womyn's centre, sexual assault centre
-also, encourage them to get in touch with me after data analyzed; we could meet early april (also before that if they'd like)

APPENDIX F -- EXEMPLARS OF COERCIVE BEHAVIOURS

Listed below are the categories of sexually coercive behaviours that were used by the male characters in the participants' stories. Each category is illustrated by two quotations, one from a man's story and one from a woman's (with the exception of the two categories that were used by participants of only one sex), that provide examples of the described behaviours found within each category.

Coercive behaviours used in both men's and women's stories:

-invading her physical space

"I get a blanket to cover her. I sit back down and resume light convesation. A few minutes later, bit by bit I to[o] get under the blanket" (1408m).

"Suddenly, he scoots over, lowers [his] arm behind me so it's around my shoulders, brings his other arm around the front, turns his body towards me and comes in for a crushing, suffocating kiss. I feel overwhelmed, he's suddenly all over my space" (1050f).

-repeated physical advances after a refusal

"I lean over to kiss her and she won't.... When the right moment comes I try to kiss her again" (1922m).

"He kisses me -- great, nice! Then he attempts to cop a feel of my right breast. That's where I draw the line! I told him to stop. We kissed again. This time more passionately and he attempts to touch me again" (4573f).

-escalation of level of sexual intimacy without the woman's encouragement

"I would have continued [the kiss] for a long time and then in time I would have grabbed her behind" (0002m).

"This man kisses me.... I back away from him worrying I may be giving him the wrong impression and start nervously moving around the room. Eventually I sit back down and just as I thought he kisses me again only more passionately and starts touching my body (4000f).

-turn her on

"I than proceed to undue her pants her stops me at first and says 'this is only our first date, I don't think we should be doing this, so I get up so, we are face to face, and start kissing again, I start to dry fuck her, and she starts to moan loader than when I was concentrating on her breasts. I tell her that I want her and she is so horny now that she says to continue what I was doing before" (1973m).

"Persuasion of my date, turn's me on, talks to me like 'I'm the only one for him' etc (3434f).

-removal of clothing
"We are sitting on the couch, we begin to kiss. As we get more envolved I attempt to unbutton her blouse she refuses" (2618m).
"[He] tr[ies] to remove my clothes after feeling my breast" (8304f).

-use of alcohol
"I get up from the couch and fix both of us some very strong rum & cokes" (0522m).
"A long, friendly, more intimate converstaion and some drinking (not alot, just to loosen up -> not inebriated)" (7842m).
"I've had a few alcoholic drinks and I'm feeling kind of tipsy" (2424f).

-forestalling no
"With a strong and passionate kiss, without even [letting her] get a word in edgewise, I will slip my hand down her pants and place my finger up her vagina" (6433m).
"I don't remember [what we were talking about before he made the advance], but it wasn't related to sex -- I felt he came right out of the blue (1050f).

-ignoring nc
"I attempt to kiss her but she say: 'Stop, let's just watch T.V.' I try again and kiss her for a period of 10-15 seconds (0522m).
"He then slides his hand below my waist and begins to protrude his fingers. I say no as his hand slides down but Joe doesn't stop" (0823f).

-using physical restraint or force
"With a little bit of force, saying I love her and telling her that I hope we can be together for I will have her hand zip down my pants and allow her to caress my penis (6433m).
"He grabs me by the hand and forcefully lands a wet kiss on my lips" (1966f).

-sweettalking
"I continue to sweet talk her and flatter her every chance I get" (1922m).
"He continues [fondling my genitals] and 'sweet talks' until I give in 'unwantingly'" (0823f).

-saying what's wrong
"She pulls away [from my kiss] and stops again. I say, 'what's the matter?'" (0522m).
"He starts to kiss my neck as he undoes my pants. I take his hands and interlock fingers to keep him from entering my pants. Joe then says 'what's wrong'" (0823f).

-verbal pressure or arguing
"I talk her into letting me undo the front of her pants" (1408m).
"In this scenario, I see my date coaxing me into having sex and putting a lot of pressure on me ... I can vividly imagine him using the line 'well you've done it before,' and feeling helpless to remove myself from the siutation" (3012f).

-giving false promises re relationship or limits

"I explain ... how much I would like this for us -- how this is a good beginning" (1408m).

"He tells me how much he wants me and how everything will be great after [intercourse]" (1213f).

Behaviours used only in women's stories:

-implicit or situational threats

"Then, the more he talked the more I began to give in. Maybe I felt that if I just gave in it would be done with and I could leave before something scarey happened. So we had intercourse. I didn't feel good about it but the pressure from him was way too much and I was sort of scared" (4320f).

"I will have lost control of the situation and probably just give into the pressure to just get out of it" (3012f).

Behaviours used only in men's stories:

-emotional manipulation

"If she feels uncomfortable [when I kiss her] then I will put on a very scary horror movie, kowing how frigthened she gets. As she klings to me as she is scared, I hold her and comfort her" (6433m).

"Now [after she has refused to kiss me] I put on a nice movie such as 'ghost' (women are always suckers for that movie)" (1922m).

REFERENCES

Abbey, A. (1982). Sex differences in attributions for friendly behavior: Do males misperceive females' friendliness? Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 42(5), 830-835.

Abbey, A. (1991). Misperception as an antecedent of acquaintance rape: A consequence of ambiguity in communication between women and men. In A. Parrot & L. Bechhofer (eds.), Acquaintance rape: The hidden crime (pp. 96-112). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Abelson, R.P. (1981). Psychological status of the script concept. American Psychologist, 36(7), 715-729.

Alexander, J.G., de Chesnay, M., Marshall, E., Campbell, A.R., Johnson, S., & Wright, R. (1989). Research note: Parallel reactions in rape victims and rape researchers. Violence and Victims, 4(1), 57-62.

American Psychiatric Association. (1987). Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders (3rd ed. - revised). Washington: Author.

Bart, P.B. & O'Brien, P.H. (1985). Stopping rape: Successful survival strategies. New York: Pergamon Press.

Bechhofer, L., & Parrot, A. (1991). What is acquaintance rape? In A. Parrot & L. Bechhofer (eds.), Acquaintance rape: The hidden crime (pp. 9-25). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Berkowitz, A. (1992). College men as perpetrators of acquaintance rape and sexual assault: A review of recent research. Journal of American College Health, 40, 175-181.

Berliner, L. (1992). Facts or advocacy statistics: The case of aquaintance rape. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 7(1), 121-122.

Bourque, L.B. (1989). Defining rape. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Boyle, C. (1984). Sexual assault. Toronto: Carswell.

Boyle, C. (1985). Offenses against women. In J.S. Russell (ed.), A feminist review of criminal law (pp. 49-66). Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada.

Brady, E.C., Chrisler, J.C., Hosdale, D.C., Osowiecki, D.M., & Veal, T.A. (1991). Date rape: Expectations, avoidance, strategies, and attitudes toward victims. Journal of Social Psychology, 131(3), 427-429.

Brickman, J., & Briere, J. (1984). Incidence of rape and sexual assault in an urban Canadian population. International Journal of Women's Studies, 7(3), 195-206.

Brownmiller, S. (1975). Against our will: Men, women, and rape. Toronto: Bantam Books.

Burt, M.R. (1991) Rape myths and acquaintance rape. In A. Parrot & L. Bechhofer (eds.), Acquaintance rape: The hidden crime (pp. 26-40). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Byers, E.S. (1988). Effects of sexual arousal on men's and women's behaviour in sexual disagreement situations. The Journal of Sex Research, 25(2), 235-254.

Byers, E.S., & Lewis, K. (1988). Dating couples' disagreements over the desired level of sexual intimacy. The Journal of Sex Research, 24, 15-29.

Canadian Federation of Students. (1992). No means no. Poster and student activity campaign. Studentsaver, 92/93, 4.

Carney, T.F. (1972). Content analysis: A technique for systematic inference from communications. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Cherry, F. (1983). Gender roles and sexual violence. In P.R. Allgeier & N.B. McCormick (eds.), Changing boundaries: Gender roles and sexual behaviour (pp. 245-260). Palo Alto, CA: Mayfair Publishing Company.

Clark, L.M.G., & Lewis, D.J. (1977). Rape: The price of coercive sexuality. Toronto: The Women's Press.

Cole, S. (1989). Pornography and the sex crisis. Toronto: Amanita.

Corcoran, C.B. (1992). From victim control to social change: A feminist perspective on campus rape prevention programs. In J.C. Chrisler & D. Howard (eds.). New directions in feminist psychology: Practice, theory, and research, pp. 130-140. New York: Springer.

Craig, M.E. (1990). Coercive sexuality in dating relationships: A situational model. Clinical Psychology Review, 10, 395-423.

Craig, M.E., Kalichman, S.C., & Follingstad, D.R. (1989). Verbal coercive sexual behaviour among college students. Archives of Sexual Behaviour, 18(5), 421-434.

DeKeseredy, W. & Kelly, K. (1993). The incidence and prevalence of woman abuse in Canadian university and college dating relationships: Preliminary results from a national survey. Report prepared for Health and Welfare Canada's Family Violence Prevention Division.

Dickie, A. (1990). The art of intimidation: Sexism & destiny at Queen's. This Magazine, 22(7), 24-26.

Dworkin, A. (1981). Pornography: Men possessing women. New York: Perigee Books.

Estrich, S. (1987). Real rape. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Exner, J.E., Jr. (1986). The Rorschach: A comprehensive system (Vol. 1: Basic Foundations, 2nd ed.). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Finkelhor, D., & Browne, A. (1985). The traumatic impact of child sexual abuse: A conceptualization. Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 55, 530-541.

Fitzgerald, L.F. & Ormerod, A.J. (1991). Perceptions of sexual harassment: The influence of gender and academic context. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 15, 281-294.

Fownes, N. (1993, June 21). Sending a message about date rape: Lunenburg students hope to educate peers with "No means No" video. The Halifax Chronicle-Herald, p. A12.

Gavey, N. (1989). Feminist poststructuralism and discourse analysis: Contributions to feminist psychology. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 13, 459-475.

Gidycz, C.A., & Koss, M.P. (1989). The impact of adolescent sexual victimization: Standardized measures of anxiety, depression, and behavioural deviancy. Violence and Victims, 4(2), 139-149.

Gidycz, C.A., & Koss, M.P. (1991). The effects of acquaintance rape on the female victim. In A. Parrot & L. Bechhofer (eds.), Acquaintance rape: The hidden crime (pp. 270-284). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Gilmartin-Zena, P. (1988). Gender differences in students' attitudes toward rape. Sociological Focus, 21(4), 279-292.

Greendlinger, V. & Byrne, D. (1987). Coercive sexual fantasies of college men as predictors of self-reported likelihood to rape and overt sexual aggression. Journal of Sex Research, 23(1), 1-11.

Griffin, S. (1971). Rape: The all-American crime. In S. Griffin (1979), Rape: The power of consciousness (pp. 3-22). New York: Harper and Row.

Gunn, R. & Minch, C. (1988). Sexual assault: The dilemma of disclosure, the question of conviction. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Hollway, W. (1989). Subjectivity and method in psychology: Gender, meaning, and science. London: Sage.

Hull, D.B., Forrester, L., Hull, J.H., & Gaines, M.-L. (1992). How to avoid date rape: College students' perceptions. In J.C. Chrisler & D. Howard (eds.). New directions in feminist psychology: Practice, theory, and research. New York: Springer.

Jackson, S. (1978). The social context of rape: Sexual scripts and motivation. Women's Studies International Quarterly, 1, 27-38.

Johnson, C.B., Stockdale, M.S., & Saal, F.E. (1991). Persistence of men's misperceptions of friendly cues across a variety of interpersonal encounters. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 15, 463-475.

Johnson, J.D., & Jackson, L.A. (1988). Assessing the effects of factors that might underlie the differential perception of acquaintance and stranger rape. Sex Roles, 19(1/2), 37-45.

Johnson, J.D., Jackson, L.A., & Smith, G.J. (1989). The role of ambiguity and gender in mediating the effects of salient cognitions. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 15(1), 52-60.

Kanin, E.J. (1957). Male aggression in dating-courtship relations. American Journal of Sociology, 63, 197-204.

Katz, B.L. (1991). The psychological impact of stranger versus nonstranger rape on victims' recovery. In A. Parrot & L. Bechhofer (eds.), Acquaintance rape: The hidden crime (pp. 251-269). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Kelly, L. (1988). Surviving sexual violence. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Kirkpatrick, C., & Kanin, E.J. (1957). Male sex aggression on a university campus. American Sociological Review, 22, 52-58.

Koss, M.P. (1985). The hidden rape victim: Personality, attitudinal, and situational characteristics. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 9, 193-212.

Koss, M.P. (1988). Hidden rape: Sexual aggression and victimization in a national sample in higher education. In A.W. Burgess (ed). Rape and sexual assault (Vol. 2, pp. 3-25). New York: Garland.

Koss, M. (1992). Defending date rape. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 7(1), 122-126.

Koss, M.P., & Dinero, T.E. (1988). Predictors of sexual aggression among a national sample of male college students. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 28, 133-147.

Koss, M.P., & Gidycz, C.A. (1985). Sexual experiences survey: Reliability and validity. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 53(3), 422-423.

Koss, M.P., Gidycz, C.A., & Wisniewski, N. (1987). The scope of rape: Incidence and prevalence of sexual aggression and victimization in a national sample of higher education students. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 55(2), 162-170.

Koss, M.P., Leonard, K.E., Beezley, D.A., & Oros, C.J. (1985). Nonstranger sexual aggression: A discriminant analysis of the psychological characteristics of undetected offenders. Sex Roles, 12, 981-992.

Koss, M.P., & Oros, C.J. (1982). Sexual experiences survey: A research instrument investigating sexual aggression and victimization. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 50(3), 455-457.

Lakeman, L. (1990). Women, violence, and the Montreal massacre. This Magazine, 22(7), 20-23.

Langley, T., Yost, E.A., O'Neal, E.C., Taylor, S.L., Frankel, P.I., & Craig, K.M. (1991). Models of rape judgement: Attributions concerning event, perpetrator, and victim. Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 17(1/2), 43-54.

Laplante, M.N., McCormick, N., & Brannigan, G.G. (1980). Living the sexual script: College students' views of influence in sexual encounters. The Journal of Sex Research, 16(4), 338-355.

Lewin, M. (1985). Unwanted intercourse: The difficulty of saying no. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 9, 184-192.

MacKinnon, C.A. (1979). Sexual harassment of working women: A case of sex discrimination. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

MacKinnon, C.A. (1987). Feminism unmodified: Discourses on life and law. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

MacRae, C.N., & Shepherd, J.W. (1989). Sex differences in the perception of rape victims. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 4, 278-288.

Madigan, L. & Gamble, N.C. (1991). The second rape: Society's continued betrayal of the rape victim. New York: Lexington Books.

Makin, K. (1993, July 3). Memories of abuse: Real or imagined? The Globe and Mail, pp. A1 and A5.

Masters, W.H. (1986). Sexual dysfunction as an aftermath of sexual assault of men by women. Journal of Sex & Marital Therapy, 12(1), 35-45.

McCormick, N.B. (1979). Come-ons and put-offs: Unmarried students' strategies for having and avoiding sexual intercourse. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 4(2), 194-211.

McCormick, N.B. (1987). Sexual scripts: Social and therapeutic implications. Sexual and Marital Therapy, 2(1), 3-27.

McCormick, N.B., & Jesser, C.J. (1983). The courtship game: Power in the sexual encounter. In R.R. Allgeier & N.B. McCormick (eds.), Changing boundaries: Gender roles and sexual behaviour (pp. 64-86). Palo Alto, CA: Mayfair.

Medea, A., & Thompson, K. (1974). Against rape. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Miller, A. (1991). Banished knowledge: Facing childhood injuries. New York: Doubleday.

Muehlenhard, C.L. (1988a). Misinterpreted dating behaviours and the risk of date rape. Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 6(1), 20-37.

Muehlenhard, C.L. (1988b). "Nice women" don't say yes and "real men" don't say no: How miscommunication and the double standard can cause sexual problems. Women and Therapy, 8, 95-108.

Muehlenhard, C.L., & Cook, S.W. (1988). Men's self-reports of unwanted sexual activity. Journal of Sex Research, 24, 58-72.

Muehlenhard, C.L., & Hollabaugh, L.C. (1988). Do women sometimes say no when they mean yes? The prevalence and correlates of women's token resistance to sex. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 54, 872-879.

Muehlenhard, C.L., & Linton, M.A. (1987). Date rape and sexual aggression in dating situations: Incidence and risk factors. Journal of Counselling Psychology, 34(2), 186-196.

Muehlenhard, C.L., & MacNaughton, J.S. (1988). Women's beliefs about women who "lead men on." Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 7(1), 65-79.

Muehlenhard, C.L., & McCoy, M.L. (1991). Double standard/double bind: The sexual double standard and women's communication about sex. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 15, 447-461.

Muehlenhard, C.L., & Schrag, J.L. (1991). Nonviolent sexual coercion. In A. Parrot & L. Bechhofer (eds.), Acquaintance rape: The hidden crime (pp. 115-128). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Ontario Federation of Students. (1991). No means no. Poster campaign.

O'Sullivan, L.F. & Byers, E.S. (1992). College students' incorporation of initiator and restrictor roles in sexual dating interactions. Journal of Sex Research, 29(3), 435-446.

Palmer, C.T. (1988). Twelve reasons why rape is not sexually motivated: A skeptical examination. Journal of Sex Research, 25(4), 512-530.

Parrot, A., & Bechhofer, L. (eds.), Acquaintance rape: The hidden crime. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Perper, T., & Weis, D.L. (1987). Proceptive and rejective strategies of U.S. and Canadian college women. The Journal of Sex Research, 23(4), 455-480.

Pickard, T. (1980). Culpable mistakes and rape: Relating mens rea to the crime. University of Toronto Law Journal, 75, 75-98.

Quinn, K., Sanchez-Hucles, J., Coates, G., & Gillen, B. (1991). Men's compliance with a woman's resistance to unwanted sexual advances. Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 17(1/2), 13-31.

Renner, K.E., Wackett, C., & Ganderton, S. (1988). The "social" nature of sexual assault. Canadian Psychology, 29(2), 163-173.

Rich, A. (1980). Compulsory heterosexuality and Lesbian existence. Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 5(4), 631-660.

Rose, S., & Frieze, I.H. (1989). Young singles' scripts for a first date. Gender & Society, 3(2), 258-268.

Russell, D.E.H. (1984). Sexual exploitation: Rape, child sexual abuse, and workplace harassment. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Russell, D.E.H. (1990). Rape in Marriage (rev. ed.). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Russell, D. (1993). The experts cop out. In D. Russell (ed.) Making violence sexy: Feminist views on pornography (pp. 151-166). New York: Teachers College Press.

Rutter, P. (1989). Sex in the forbidden zone: When men in power -- therapists, doctors, clergy, teachers, and others -- betray women's trust. New York: Fawcett Crest.

Ryan, K.M. (1988). Rape and seduction scripts. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 12, 237-245.

Sandberg, G., Jackson T.L., & Petretic-Jackson, P. (1987). College students' attitudes regarding sexual coercion and aggression: Developing educational and preventive strategies. Journal of College Student Personnel, 28, 302-311.

Saunders, D.M., Fisher, W.A., Hewitt, E.C., & Clayton, J.P. (1985). A method for empirically assessing volunteer selection effects: Recruitment procedures and responses to erotica. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 49(6), 1703-1712.

Scully, D., & Marolla, J. (1984). Convicted rapists' vocabulary of motive: Excuses and justifications. In D. Brissett & C. Edgley (eds.) (1990). Life as theatre: A dramaturgical sourcebook (2nd. ed., pp. 261-280). New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Sheffield, C.J. (1993). The invisible intruder: Women's experiences of obscene phone calls. In P.B. Bart & E.G. Moran (eds.). Violence against women: The bloody footprints (pp. 73-78). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Shotland, L.R., & Goodstein, L. (1983). Just because she doesn't want to doesn't mean it's rape: An experimentally-based causal model of the perception of rape in a dating situation. Social Psychology Quarterly, 46(3), 220-232.

Shotland, R.L. (1992). A theory of the causes of courtship rape: Part 2. Journal of Social Issues, 48(1), 127-143.

Sonne, J.L., & Pope, K.S. (1991). Treating victims of therapist-patient sexual involvement. Psychotherapy, 28, 174-187.

Stanko, E.A. (1985). Intimate intrusions: Women's experience of male violence. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Struckman-Johnson, C. (1988). Forced sex on dates: It happens to men, too. Journal of Sex Research, 24, 234-241.

Struckman-Johnson, C. (1991). Male victims of acquaintance rape. In A. Parrot & L. Bechhofer (eds.), Acquaintance rape: The hidden crime (pp. 192-214). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Warshaw, R. (1988). I never called it rape: The Ms. report on recognizing, fighting, and surviving date and acquaintance rape. New York: Harper and Row.

Weber, R.P. (1990). Basic content analysis (2nd ed., Sage University Paper Series on Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, series no. 07-049). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

White, J.W., & Humphrey, J.A. (1991). Young people's attitudes toward acquaintance rape. In A. Parrot & L. Bechhofer (eds.), Acquaintance rape: The hidden crime (pp. 43-56). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Yurchesyn, K.A., Keith, A., & Renner, K.E. (1992). Contrasting perspectives of the nature of sexual assault provided by a service for sexual assault victims and by the law courts. Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science, 24(1), 71-85.

Zimbardo, P.G. (1992). Psychology and life (13th ed.). New York: HarperCollins

VITA AUCTORIS

1982: Graduated from Alternative Scarborough Education

1986: Baccalaureate of Science in Pure Mathematics, McGill University

1987: Completed first year of LL.B., McGill University

1991: Completed two years of study in undergraduate Psychology, University of Toronto